

Angola Peace Monitor

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Pivotal diamond deal nears deadline

If implemented, a major new diamond deal to legalise a large part of the UNITA rebel movement's mining operations could prove to be a watershed in the Angolan peace process.

The agreement reached between the Angolan government and UNITA, during exhaustive negotiations over the last year, allows for UNITA to take a stake of up to 25% in the concession belonging to the Sociedade Desenvolvimento Mineira (SDM) to exploit the rich diamond areas around the town of Luzamba, in the north-east of the country.

SDM is a consortium made up of the Brazilian company Oderbrecht, Australia's Ashton Mining and the state diamond company Endiama. It has sent an advance group of experts to Luzamba.

However, at present the area is under military occupation by UNITA. The deal agreed states that UNITA should cede control of Luzamba to the government on 1 January 1998, prior to any legalisation of UNITA mining activity.

UNITA is also in negotiations with another consortium over the Luremo concession in northern Cuango. The concession is currently controlled by a consortium comprised of Endiama, IDAS and America Mineral Fields.

Analysts have pointed to the importance of the hand-over of Luzamba. It would signify commitment to peace, and give UNITA a legal source of revenue to support its activities as a political party, as well as forming the economic basis for the integration of the UNITA leadership into Angola's ruling elite.

However, if UNITA fails to hand over Luzamba on 1 January through a series of delays, it could also be a signal that UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi wishes to

continue to draw on funds from the illegal mining of diamonds to finance his armed opposition to the peace process.

It is not yet clear whether UNITA is preparing to move its armed troops to new strongholds in the south of the country, or whether it is preparing for a showdown with the government in the north-east. Africa Confidential reported on 5 December that a military source in the United Nations had stated that UNITA's two main airfields, Luzamba and Andulo, continue to be busy.

There are signs that the Angolan government is being proactive in its preparations for the region. At the end of November the Angolan army, FAA, took over by force from UNITA a number of minor diamond locations along the River Tshikapa.

#### Angolan government tightens grip

The Angolan government has continued to reduce UNITA's influence in neighbouring countries, cutting many of the remaining supply lines UNITA maintains for arms and petrol.

Following representations by the Angolan government to the Zambian government, action has been taken by the Zambian authorities to close down several companies suspected of operating flights into UNITA-held territory, including the South African company METEX. A number of aircraft have been seized pending investigations.

Reuters reported on 9 December that the Zambian authorities have given permission to the Angolan army to enter the country in hot pursuit of UNITA soldiers. The report states that Angolan forces have entered Zambia from Moxico province to cut off UNITA's supply routes.

At the end of November, the Zambian opposition party, United National Independence Party (UNIP) stated that it had "irrefutable evidence to show aircraft have been taking off from Ndola airport, laden with arms destined for UNITA strongholds in Angola".

Reuters also claim that two thousand Angolan soldiers have moved into the Democratic Republic of Congo

(formerly Zaire). This is attributed to an unnamed UN official.

#### South Africa takes action

The South African government has also taken steps to reduce the ease with which flights can go to Angola without official permission.

In November the South African government announced that it has reduced the number of aerodromes authorised to host international flights from 35 to 10, in order to comply with sanctions against flights to UNITA controlled areas. Angolan troops due to leave Congo-Brazzaville

To the north of the country, Angolan troops are preparing to withdraw from Congo-Brazzaville following their military intervention in October (see APM no.2 vol.IV).

President dos Santos assured the US Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, on 12 December, that all Angolan military personnel would be withdrawn from Congo-Brazzaville by the end of the year.

This would free up to six thousand soldiers and strengthen FAA's defence capacity.

#### Gabon, Togo and Ivory Coast accused

Three countries on the west coast of Africa have been accused of giving support to UNITA.

Southscan claimed on 5 December that Togo has sold UNITA ammunition and rockets. The London-based journal links these arms to the sale of arms to Togo by the South African arms company - Denel.

There are also claims that diamonds are now being flown into Togo from UNITA-held areas, in contravention of the recently imposed UN sanctions (see APM no.3 vol. IV).

These issues may have been raised during South African President Nelson Mandela's meeting President Etienne Eyadema of Togo on 9 December in Pretoria.

The northern neighbour of Congo-Brazzaville, Gabon, has also been accused of giving support to UNITA.

Gabon entered into a regional peace agreement with the two Congos and Angola at the end of October (see APM no.2 vol.IV). However, Gabon stands accused of allowing Bongoville and Franceville to be used for the refuelling of aircraft laden with arms destined for UNITA.

Also accused of helping UNITA to avoid sanctions is the Ivory Coast. The London-based Africa Confidential stated on 5 December that the government had recently issued Ivorian passports to several UNITA officials and their families.

#### Cabinda operation launched

In the north of Angola, in the enclave of Cabinda, an operation has been launched by FAA against separatist forces. The operation, launched on 9 December, is aimed at stopping the armed actions of the various separatist movements.

The London-based journal, Southscan, reported on 5 December that two of the separatist groups, Flec-R and FDC, have been equipped by UNITA. It is understood that UNITA, who previously have taken a stance of supporting the national integrity of Angola, have begun to support the separatist movements following the routing of UNITA and the Cabindan separatists from Congo-Brazzaville in October.

Southscan claims that the Cabindan-rebels receive financial support from Belgium-based Benicio Mavungu, who in turn has received \$20 million from Arab countries through an account at the Nagelmackers Bank.

#### US strengthen ties with Angola

The United States has consolidated its relationship with Angola, following the visit by Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright on 12 December.

The Secretary of State visited an off-shore oil platform operated by the US company Chevron off the oil-rich enclave of Cabinda. At present the United States imports seven percent of its oil from Angola, and Madeleine Albright stated that she expects this

amount to increase. The total value of Angolan crude oil exported to the US is currently \$2 billion per year.

She said that the US Import-Export Bank was finalising a loan of about \$90 million to develop new oilfields in Cabinda, and was discussing with Chevron and the state owned oil company, Sonangol, a \$350 million package to support the purchase of American equipment by Angola.

The Secretary of State met with the Angolan President, Jose Eduardo dos Santos. Apart from discussing the peace process, the two discussed economic issues, and Albright stressed the importance that she attaches to increasing bilateral commercial activities.

Madeleine Albright also stated that "Savimbi and the UNITA leaders who remain outside of Luanda can expect only marginalisation if they do not move swiftly to comply fully with the Lusaka Protocol, and to work in good faith to build post-Lusaka arrangements".

The ties were also strengthened by news that the United States has taken action to comply with UN sanctions imposed on 29 October (see APM no.2 vol. IV).

On 14 December, President Bill Clinton signed an Executive Order and Presidential Proclamation putting into effect US sanctions against UNITA. The US hopes that these measures will close the UNITA front, the Centre for Democracy in Angola (CDA), and the UNITA offices in New York and Philadelphia. The CDA is now registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

The Treasury Office is responsible for enforcing the closure of the offices, and for the embargos on flights into UNITA-held territories. It is expected that the UNITA offices will be closed before Christmas, although UNITA may fight the decision in the Courts.

London UNITA office defies government ban

The Angola Peace Monitor contacted the UNITA office in London on 17 December, and can confirm that it is continuing to operate. Its representative, Anibal Mateus Kandeya, is still working despite having overstayed his visa.

In a reply to a question in the House of Lords by ACTSA Chair Lord Hughes, Baroness Symons of Vernham Dean stated that "the Home Office wrote to the UNITA representative, Mr Kandeya, on 5 December requiring him to leave the United Kingdom immediately".

According to a source in the Foreign Office, the Home Office is currently checking its records of who has left the country recently. If it finds that Mr Kandeya has not left it will take steps to remove him.

The British government has taken steps to implement the other sanctions imposed by the UN. Entry visa's will not be issued to UNITA members named by the UN Sanctions Committee. Legislation has been amended to make it an offence to supply aircraft or aircraft parts to UNITA. It is also now an offence to provide insurance for aircraft flying into UNITA territory.

Two enquiries clear government over deaths

An enquiry by the UN Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA), and a separate enquiry by the Angolan government have found that ten UNITA members who died in detention were killed by a fellow UNITA inmate, who then committed suicide.

The ten who died were part of a group of 22 UNITA soldiers who were captured after they attacked the municipality of Cangandala on 11 November.

The incident in a jail in Malanje (see APM no.3 vol. IV) led UNITA and its sympathisers to state that the deaths were caused by suffocation, having been placed in a cell with forty other detainees. This version was at first accepted by MONUA, and led MONUA spokesman David Wimhurst to denounce the government for "an act of barbaric cruelty".

It had been feared that the incident would provide a pretext for UNITA suspending cooperation with the Government. The two enquiries have now removed that threat.

UN Secretary General condemns UNITA for "no significant progress"

The United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan, reported to the UN Security Council on 4 December

(S/1997/959) that there had been "no significant progress" in the peace process since he last reported in October.

His report, which points out that UNITA has failed to give "unconditional cooperation in the fulfilment of its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol". In particular, UNITA has:

- \* continued to conduct military training and resupply;
- \* failed to provide MONUA with a credible figure for its residual forces;
- \* only allowed state administration to continue at a very slow pace;
- \* resumed putting landmines on roads;
- \* landed 84 small and large aircraft in UNITA-controlled areas between 29 October and 20 November;
- \* resumed the dissemination of hostile propaganda, especially over Radio Vorgan;
- \* increased attacks on humanitarian workers;
- \* restricted the freedom of movement of people around the country.

The Secretary General had been asked to prepare the report by the UN Security Council, in order to assess whether to lift sanctions in place against UNITA, or whether to take additional measures.

Kofi Annan also warned that "the Government must conduct the extension of State administration in such a way that it does not aggravate the already tense situation in some areas of the country and to cooperate fully with the United Nations in the investigation of the alleged disappearances and detentions of UNITA supporters".

In his report, Kofi Annan points out that MONUA has resumed withdrawing its military personnel, with 700 soldiers from Zambia and Zimbabwe, the Portuguese logistic unit and a number of military observers and staff officers being repatriated by the end of December.

This will leave MONUA with 1,750 military personnel, which will then be further reduced by the beginning of February.

Jonas Savimbi agrees to speak with President

UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi has eventually spoken to President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, having previously refused to accept the President's calls.

The two leaders spoke on the telephone on 15 December. However, during his meeting with Madeleine Albright on 12 December, the President stressed that he had attempted to contact Savimbi on his return to Angola on 7 December following an operation on his Achilles tendon in Brazil.

His telephone calls had been met with the statement that Jonas Savimbi was not available. However, the US Under Secretary of State, Thomas Pickering, did speak to Savimbi on 9 December, to urge him to come to Luanda to meet Ms Albright. The invitation was refused.

The two Angolan leaders have agreed to meet in Angola before the end of December.

UN condemns UNITA for relaying mines

The United Nations on 3 December accused UNITA of relaying mines on roads previously cleared.

MONUA spokesperson, David Wimhurst stated that nine mines exploded in November on roads leading to UNITA's headquarters. He told Associated Press that "this is totally negative. This comes at a time when most of the world is supporting the treaty for a world-wide ban on landmines and increases UNITA's reputation as being a non-peaceful organisation".

The UN warned that remaining roads could deter donor countries from giving funds for demining operations.

Major oil find

The French oil company Elf-Aquitaine has discovered a large oil field containing over 100 million tons, roughly 730 million barrels, of oil.

The discovery, in Block 17, is about 200 kilometres offshore, at a depth of 1,250 meters.

Petroleum analysts are now talking of Angola becoming the largest oil producer in Africa within a decade. Angola assists in Somali emergency

The Angolan government has lent the United Nations a C-130 cargo plane for use in the humanitarian airlift in Somali, following severe flooding.  
Angolan flights to Paris resume

The Angolan national airline, TAAG, have announced that they have resumed a weekly flight to Paris after a seven year interruption. The aircraft used is a new Boeing 747-300.

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Angola Peace Monitor

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International community fails to close UNITA offices

An international commitment to isolate the Angolan rebel movement, UNITA, has so far failed to be matched by concrete action. A plan to close down UNITA's twelve offices outside Angola and to restrict the movement of senior UNITA personnel was agreed by the United Nations at the end of October. However, by the end of November only one member state of the United Nations Security Council, France, had succeeded in fully closing down a UNITA office.

On 29 October the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1135. This stated that all UNITA offices abroad are to be closed, and senior UNITA officials should have their travel documents, visas or residence permits cancelled. However, the member states have had problems carrying out their obligations in this regard. In some countries, the government is struggling to find a way to carry out its obligations. In others, domestic political pressures are delaying action.

In the United States, the UNITA office in Washington has for the last few months been operating under the name the Centre for Democracy in Angola Incorporated, and is headed by an American, Malik Chaka. UNITA also has an office in New York. While the US administration signalled its willingness to close the two UNITA offices, it has so far failed to do so.

In Portugal, the UNITA office has recently been renamed the Centre for Democracy in Angola, and may be run by people with Portuguese passports. The deputy head of UNITA in Portugal, Rui Oliveira, told APS on 10 November that UNITA had been contacted by Jose Lamego, Portugal's junior foreign minister. He informed UNITA on 30 October that the government wanted to shut down the delegation. However, according to Africa Analysis (14 November) the government has since backed down due to domestic political considerations. Africa Analysis also stated that Germany does not intend to close the UNITA office "because it has no official status".

In Belgium, UNITA has informed the government that it has closed its office. However, an Angolan cultural office has been opened, which is headed by the ex-UNITA representative, who holds a diplomatic passport from the Ivory Coast.

In the United Kingdom, the British Government has stated it has taken active steps to remove the UNITA representative Mr Kandeya from the country. It has decided not to renew his visa, which ran out on 10 November. He is expected to leave the country in the first week of December. However, it has not found a mechanism for closing the UNITA office, which operates under the cover of an import-export company, with British staff. It hopes that the expulsion of the UNITA representative will, de facto, close the office.

The Foreign and Commonwealth Office has been keen to implement the UN sanctions against UNITA, and has passed on relevant information to the Home Office and the Department of Trade and Industry.

The one Security Council member which, at the time the Angola Peace Monitor went to press, had managed to implement the sanctions that it voted for is France. It was announced on 25 November that the French Government had ordered the closure of the UNITA office. According to foreign ministry spokesperson, Yves Doutriaux, the office, which operated under the title, Demain l'Angola, has now "ended its political activities in France".

The member states are to report to the Sanctions Committee of the UN before the 1 December on progress towards implementing sanctions, and to the Security Council by 15 December.

The UN Secretary General is to report to the Security Council by 8 December on progress made by UNITA in complying with the Lusaka Protocol.

The Security Council also stated in its resolution "its readiness to consider the imposition of additional measures, such as trade and financial restrictions, if UNITA does not fully comply with its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol and all relevant Security Council resolutions". This batch of sanctions would probably include the freezing of UNITA's bank accounts. However, observers point out that neither the present mandatory sanctions on UNITA buying armaments and oil (in place since September 1993), nor the attempts to close UNITA's offices, have proved to be effective, except for stressing the international isolation of UNITA.

Peace process halted

The Angolan peace process has effectively stalled following UNITA's failure to comply with the Lusaka Protocol, the agreement underpinning the process. Sources in Angola describe an "alarming calm" in the country, with no substantial hand-over of UNITA-controlled areas to the government, and no further hand-over of UNITA weapons to the United Nations.

The Lusaka Protocol, signed on 20 November 1994, sets out the duties of the Angolan government and the rebel-movement, UNITA. However, UNITA have failed to demobilise their army and hand over their weapons. This has led the United Nations to impose further international sanctions against the rebels (see APM no.2 vol. IV).

According to reliable sources, the six thousand UNITA troops which in October had turned up at UN camps for registration and demobilisation, demanded their weapons back and left the camps following the imposition of UN sanctions on UNITA at the end of October.

They have now rejoined their comrades-in-arms, making up a military force estimated to be between 15,000 and 35,000 strong.

UNITA ministers loyal to government

Despite the present stalling of the peace process, there are encouraging signs that a section of the UNITA leadership are committed to peace.

There is growing admiration for UNITA's four ministers and seven deputy ministers appointed to the Government of Unity and National Reconstruction (GURN) by President dos Santos, in accordance with the Lusaka Protocol.

Diplomatic sources have expressed surprise and delight at the hard work and seriousness of the UNITA appointees. However, this appreciation of their work is not shared by all. The UNITA mouthpiece in the United States, the Centre for Democracy in Angola Incorporated, on 23 October described their role as being "purely ceremonial".

There is a growing gulf between those UNITA representatives who have moved to Luanda to participate in the GURN and the National Assembly, and those who have remained with Jonas Savimbi. At present, Jonas Savimbi is keeping both the military and political option open. However, one UNITA minister has privately conceded that if there was a return to war, he would remain with the government.

A further sign of the division was shown when the Political Commission of UNITA met in Andulo in early November. According to the Washington Post on 11 November, members of the Political Commission who are in Luanda did not attend. The article quotes the minister for commerce and tourism, Jorge Valentim, as saying that, "I cannot put the party above the government". According to an APM source, one senior Luanda-based UNITA member stated, off-the-record, that his life would be in danger if he went to Andulo.

A diplomat, quoted by the Washington Post, stated that the decision by the Luandan members of the Political Commission not to attend "was the first time they made it clear they weren't going to follow Bailundo. I think it was a quiet rebellion".

Military tensions on rise

There has been mounting military tension around the country, with allegations on both sides of aggressive military actions. David Wimhurst, the spokesperson for

the UN Observer Mission in Angola, MONUA, warned that cease-fire violations in October had risen to 30.

According to a report by Associated Press on 5 November, the UN suspects UNITA involvement in three ambushes during October, and new anti-tank minefields have been laid in Malanje province.

The Angolan army has made fresh allegations that UNITA is preparing to relaunch military conflict. UNITA have counter-charged that the government has been preparing for a military assault in the north of the country.

The commander of the Angolan army's southern front, General Francisco Furtado, stated on 13 November that UNITA had moved hidden long-range artillery and other weapons to new command posts. He also asserted that it was building up military bases in the regions on Benguela and Huila in the South, Bie and Huambo in the centre and Cuando-Cubango in the south west. This was in part confirmed by the UN Humanitarian Assistance Coordination Unit (UCAH) who warned on 7 November of an increasing number of security incidents in Benguela province.

The Angolan government also charged that UNITA have shelled several villages in Huila province, forcing hundreds of villagers to flee their homes.

In response to armed actions by UNITA, on 11 November, 22 UNITA soldiers were arrested and charged with attacking a police unit at Kangandala, in northern Angola.

A further deserter from UNITA's military wing has further strengthened the Angolan army's allegations.

According to the Angolan News Agency, ANGOP, a former UNITA officer, stationed in Bailundo, turned himself over to the authorities in Bie province. Alceres Domingos Andre, who was demobilised in Vila Nova on 12 May, stated that he was subsequently taken to a base in Monte Belo, 12 km from Bailundo. He said that 700 demobilised soldiers were being trained there for a return to war.

Relations between the Government and UNITA were reported to be deteriorating in Uige province. On 1 November it was reported by state radio that UNITA had

unilaterally suspended all its activities with the reinstatement of government administration in Uige province.

In a further development, it was reported on 6 November that UNITA members were abandoning Quitexe, Songo and Mucaba in Uige as well as Quisseque commune in Negage.

UN peacekeeper assaulted by UNITA

The UN temporarily suspended operations in Jamba following an assault on a Zambian peacekeeper and a Portuguese relief worker by a UNITA gang on 12 November.

Lieutenant Warren Chanda was hospitalised following the incident in Jamba. Suzanna dos Passos, a civil education officer with UCAH, was also injured. Reuters reported on 12 November that a UNITA official in Luanda confirmed the incident and that it was carried out by UNITA members.

Following the assaults, the UN announced that it was halting the demobilisation of UNITA troops.

UNITA soldiers die in detention

There has been widespread shock at the death in detention of at least ten UNITA soldiers in a jail in Malanje. Initial reports indicate that the UNITA prisoners died of suffocation due to overcrowding in cells.

The Angolan government has sent a minister to Malanje to investigate the incident, and has promised to punish those found responsible.

Meeting between leaders delayed

The planned meeting between President Eduardo dos Santos and UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi, has been postponed following an injury to the Angolan president.

The meeting, which was due to take place at the end of November, has been delayed. This follows the President's trip to Brazil for an operation to his Achilles' tendon. It is expected that after his return in early December a new date will be fixed.

The President has been firmly of the opinion that the meeting should take place in the Angolan capital, Luanda. However, UNITA have so far cited "security" worries to avoid a meeting in Angola.

#### Angolan government criticised over Congo-Brazzaville

The Angolan government has come under further criticism over its intervention in neighbouring Congo-Brazzaville, which routed UNITA guerrillas and Cabindan separatist forces, and brought to an end the bitter civil war in the west African state.

The US House of Representatives on 18 November passed Resolution 273 which "condemns the military intervention by the Government of Angola into the Republic of Congo", and called on the Angolans to "immediately withdraw all military troops, supplies and other assistance from the Republic of Congo". The resolution also urges the US administration to withhold "any military training and assistance to Angola until it ceases all military activity in the Republic of Congo".

#### Togo under pressure to distance itself from UNITA

The London-based journal, SouthScan (21 November), has reported that Togolese President Gnassingbe Eyadema, is being put under pressure to abandon his old friend, Jonas Savimbi.

A SouthScan source has stated that Lome has been used as a conduit for UNITA's illegally mined diamonds. This follows an article in the Paris-based journal, Lettre du Continent, which speculated that Angola was the main topic during talks between President Eyadema and South African Deputy President Thabo Mbeki in January.

#### Zambia coup allegations discounted

There have been unsubstantiated allegations that the Angolan government was involved in October's failed coup attempt against President Chiluba in neighbouring Zambia, in the wake of the Angolan intervention in the two Congos.

However, analysts point out that unlike the successful revolts in the Congos, the coup attempt in Zambia was

poorly carried out, and there was no suggestion of Angolan troops being involved.

The speculation has, however, focused attention on recognition that the Angolan government is increasingly confident in its ability to defend its territorial integrity and national security. The Washington Post on 8 November, stated that "Angola apparently did not intervene in Zambia, but it successfully impressed upon its eastern neighbour the need to control its borders".

Historically, Zambia has been used as a supply route by UNITA. There have also been recent allegations of sanctions busting through Zambia. In July this year, a South African researcher at the Institute for Security Studies alleged that it was likely that UNITA had imported arms through Zambia.

The Angolan Interior Minister, Andre Pitra "Petroff" on 12 November, complained that aircraft from Zambia had violated Angolan airspace. He said that "we will inform the Zambian authorities of our concerns".

New plane designed to detect mines

A company in Luxembourg has designed an aircraft with six sensors to gather data on minefields. The airplane will fly at a height of around 400 meters to detect landmines over 15 cm and up to 50 cm deep. It is hoped that the aircraft can be used to speed up demining operations in Angola.

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Angola Peace Monitor

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International goodwill runs out for UNITA - sanctions imposed

The United Nations on 29 October unanimously agreed to impose further sanctions on the Angolan rebel movement, UNITA, following its refusal to abide by its obligations under the Angolan peace agreement, the Lusaka Protocol.

The sanctions, which came into effect on 30 October, mean that UNITA will now face, inter alia, an international ban on travel for its officials, the closing of its offices abroad, and the banning of flights into UNITA-held areas unless sanctioned by the Angolan Government. These sanctions add to the present mandatory sanctions, imposed in 1993, against providing UNITA with either petroleum products or armaments.

The Security Council also reaffirmed its readiness to consider the imposition of additional measures, such as trade and financial restrictions, if UNITA does not fully comply with its obligations.

In particular, UNITA still needs to disarm and demobilise its guerrilla army. It continues to have military control over more than half of the country, and it must hand this over to the state. The rebel movement is also required to stop its illegal broadcasts over Radio Vorgan, which have been highly hostile towards the peace process. UNITA miss their chance

The imposition of sanctions follows UNITA's inability or disinclination to make last minute concessions in the run up to the Security Council meeting. On 17 October the UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, reported to the Security Council (S/1997/807) that there had been "no significant progress in the peace process" since the end of September.

Kofi Annan stated that he remained "concerned in particular by the very slow pace of the demilitarisation of UNITA" and equally "the recent slowdown of the extension of state administration into the areas controlled by UNITA is worrisome".

Hopes were raised in some quarters following the visit to Andulo of the US ambassador at the UN, Bill Richardson, on 26 October. Whilst there Richardson met with UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi, who told him "of actions he would take by the end of the month to avoid sanctions".

In particular, Savimbi promised to surrender a substantial number of weapons, hand over 89 areas under UNITA control, and demobilise the 6,582 troops he admits to maintaining. Notably absent from Savimbi's

promises was the handover of the two key UNITA strongholds of Andulo and Bailundo.  
Demobilising UNITA troops

Serious concern is being raised that the key element of the Lusaka Protocol, the demobilisation process, has been a failure. The most significant sign of UNITA's lack of commitment to peace is its continuing denial of the fact that it maintains a strong and highly armed guerrilla force.

Following a Government army offensive in May (APM no.10, vol III), both UNITA and the United Nations were forced to admit that UNITA had kept its guerilla force. Up until then, UNITA had solemnly sworn that it had fully demobilised its troops.

The acceptance of this reality has led the UN to take action against UNITA. The Force Commander of the UN Observer Mission in Angola, MONUA, Major General P V Sibanda, wrote in August a damning report outlining UNITA's war preparations. These involved, inter alia, the recruitment, training, and regrouping of UNITA forces (APM no.12, vol III).

The report stated that the above "casts doubt on UNITA's commitment to peace. These actions by UNITA should be denounced in the strongest terms as UNITA cannot expect to participate in the structures of the Government of Unity and National Reconstruction, yet at the same time run a private army on the side and continue to control large areas of the country".

UNITA regroups

According to figures published by the UN, by 7 December 1996 69,821 UNITA troops were quartered for the disarmament and demobilisation process (APM no.4, vol III). Many of these were non-soldiers press ganged into the camps by UNITA (APM ad passim).

However, only 33,967 troops have been demobilised. Of these, concern has mounted that many have also rejoined their military units. A study carried out by the UN Observer Mission in Angola, has detailed "systematic and unjustified changes by UNITA in the destination of its demobilised troops [UN Secretary General's report S/1997/807]".

Under plans set out for the demobilisation of UNITA troops, the quartered troops were each to be given transport to their own, self-defined, home. However, the Secretary General reported that "MONUA has investigated these changes [of location] with regard to those demobilised from the Catala and Chitembo centres. The outcome of the investigation showed that some 279 troops who had initially chosen to settle in 175 different locations throughout the country were, eventually, settled in only six locations in and around Catala, an area in Malange Province. Some 1,291 troops from Chitembo, who had chosen to settle in 302 different locations throughout the country, finally settled in only six locations, all in the area between Chitembo and Kuito in Bie Province".

It is clear from this study that UNITA has regrouped its armed forces following the demobilisation process.

The huge difference between the numbers quartered and demobilised is a result of widespread and systematic desertion from the camps. Over 30,000 UNITA soldiers deserted, many of whom have simply rejoined their military units.

UNITA admission "unsatisfactory"

Following complaints from the international community that UNITA had not truly demobilised, UNITA admitted to the existence of 6,052 armed personnel. This number was subsequently increased to 6,582, but still considered by the UN Secretary General to be "generally regarded as unsatisfactory".

These troops are to be registered, before being formally demobilised. However, ACTSA has learnt that there are to be no additional safeguards to stop these troops rejoining their units once demobilised.

The exact number of UNITA troops still under arms is a matter of speculation. Whilst the Angolan Government is maintaining that UNITA has some 35,000 troops, the UN is working on the basis of a smaller, but still significant, number.

According to the London-based Financial Times on 29 July, a senior UN official admitted that "we suspect that most of the 20,000 UNITA soldiers whom we have demobilised have actually remained under some sort of

UNITA command". To this one must add those who deserted, or were never quartered. On top of this total, there is the existence of UNITA troops outside of Angola. It has been reported that 5,000 UNITA soldiers fought alongside ex-president Mobutu's troops in Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo), prior to the victory of Laurent Kabila's forces (APM no.9, vol III). It is not known whether those routed forces all managed to retreat into Angola.

Similarly, the UNITA troops defeated during their defence of ex-president Pascal Lissouba, in the Republic of Congo (Congo-Brazzaville), are still at large in that war-torn country (see separate story below).

This was confirmed by Peter Burleigh, representing the United States, at the UN Security Council debate on Angola on 29 October, when he demanded that "mercenaries and other armed groups, including UNITA, withdraw immediately" from Congo-Brazzaville.

The London-based journal, Africa Confidential on 24 October put the number of UNITA troops in Congo-Brazzaville at about 2,000.

Meanwhile, the Joint Commission, the body overseeing the Angolan peace process, agreed on 6 October to close down the three remaining (out of 15) assembly camps, where UNITA was to place its troops, by the end of October.

#### Disarming

Progress has recently been made by the United Nations in collecting some of UNITA's huge arsenal.

The Secretary General, in his report of 17 October, stated that 5,454 weapons of various calibres and 1.8 million different types of ammunition had been handed in by the 5,148 UNITA troops registering for demobilisation recently. On top of this, a large quantity of weapons and ammunition were handed over separately at Mucusso in Cuando Cubango Province. Of these, 59.86 per cent were in good condition.

The Secretary General reported that although some additional military pieces had been surrendered, "communication equipment is still conspicuously

absent". He also stated that only two unserviceable Kaspir armoured vehicles were handed over. In this connection, it should be noted that UNITA has made much use of motorised military units in armed confrontation with the Angolan army over the years.

Kofi Annan also lamented that the quantity of 7.62-calibre ammunition (for AK-47 rifles) amounted to only 66 rounds per weapon, "which MONUA considers to be too low".

Since the Secretary General's report on 17 October, UNITA has handed over a significant amount of weaponry. On 24 October, the MONUA Team Site at Mucusso, Cuando Cubango Province, received from UNITA the following:

- \* 54,919,529 rounds of ammunition
- \* 2,659 bombs
- \* 14,851 anti-tank cartridges
- \* 73,104 rounds of 75mm anti-tank munition and training cartridges
- \* 4,174 smoke grenades
- \* 47 81mm grenades
- \* 13,710 Very pistol cartridges
- \* 75 grenade launchers
- \* 25 80mm mortars
- \* 26 2PG.2 machine guns.

In total, 1,800 tonnes of weapons were handed in.

Concurrently, the Angolan police have been disarming UNITA personnel in areas returned to state control.

On 21 October, the Angolan police seized 42 AKM rifles and communications equipment from UNITA, and in the process detained 17 UNITA soldiers, including a major, and two lieutenants.

On top of this, the Angolan police on 24 October seized the following weapons from UNITA in Bungo district in Uige Province:

- \* 4 FN rifles
- \* 2 Czech made weapons
- \* 3 grenades for 60mm and 81mm mortars
- \* 141 missiles
- \* 2 landmine detonators
- \* 3 anti-personnel landmines
- \* 3 rocket launchers

\* 27 RPG-7 rocket launchers

It is clear from published information that UNITA maintains a well-armed force. It has kept its communications equipment, offensive and logistical vehicles, heavy weaponry and anti-aircraft capacity.

There is also concern that UNITA continues to break the arms embargo imposed in 1993. One Security Council envoy, quoted by Reuters on 29 October, said that "they still travel abroad seeking arms and trying to present their case for military support. They still obtain weapons through flights". It is in this context that sanctions against UNITA personnel travelling abroad, and flights into UNITA areas were imposed. Handing over UNITA-occupied areas to the state

There has been slow progress in handing over UNITA - occupied areas to state administration. The UN Secretary General's Special Representative in Angola, Alioune Blondin Beye, said on 23 October that only one area was being returned to government administration on a daily basis, instead of the agreed three.

On 18 August, the Central Intersectoral Operational Group, the joint Government/UNITA body established to oversee the extension of state administration, agreed a plan to extend state administration to 149 localities by the end of October. However, by 15 October, only 118 locations had been dealt with.

There is no news about the 89 localities which Savimbi promised would be handed over by the end of October. None of these are particularly important areas. The UN Secretary General informed the Security Council that Savimbi had announced that two of the key occupied territories, Andulo and Bailundo, would not be handed over until after his return to Luanda.

Overall, the UN Secretary General reported to the Security Council that "the delays in the implementation of the plan for the extension of state administration have been due not only to logistical obstacles but also political ones. While UNITA has been by and large cooperative in the installation of central administration, that cooperation has not been forthcoming after the adoption of Security Council resolution 1130 (1997) [the resolution agreed in

September delaying the imposition of sanctions until the end of October].

Radio Vorgan

The Angolan Government has licensed Radio Despertar, and made a FM frequency available for it. This is to replace Radio Vorgan, which broadcasts on short-wave. Meanwhile, Kofi Annan reported (S/1997/807) that Radio Vorgan had "significantly reduced the broadcast of hostile propaganda and, in many instances, its editorial comments have been supportive of the peace process efforts".

United Nations extends peacekeeping mission

The UN Security Council has decided to extend the MONUA mandate until 30 January 1988, and to postpone the withdrawal of UN military units until the end of November 1997.

The Secretary General's view, endorsed by the Security Council, is that there should be "the repatriation of a number of military personnel by the end of November 1997, with a gradual drawdown of the troops between December 1997 and the first week of February 1998".

UNITA lose final rear-base

There has been widespread international criticism over the toppling of elected president Pascal Lissouba in Congo-Brazzaville, which involved the Angolan army.

Following a dramatic and decisive intervention by the Angolan army in the civil war in Congo-Brazzaville, President Pascal Lissouba lost power to the former president, Denis Sassou-Nguesso on 15 October.

The four month civil war, which left an estimated 10,000 dead, started on 5 June with the attack by Lissouba's forces on Sassou's house, although the roots of the conflict are deep and fed by the existence of private militias. Following this attack Presidential elections, due to take place at the end of July, were indefinitely postponed.

Africa Confidential reported on 24 October that Lissouba was supported by "several thousand men from Mobutu's Division Speciale Presidentielle and Savimbi's UNITA, who in April had fought Kabila's forces at Kengue, some 300 km from Kinshasa, later taking refuge

at Loudima and Moussendjo in Pool, the heart of Lissouba-land".

The first accusation of Angolan involvement came on 11 October. On 14 October an estimated 3,000 Angolan soldiers entered Congo-Brazzaville over the border from Cabinda, the Angolan enclave. By 15 October Lissouba had fled and Sassou's forces were consolidating power.

Angola's intervention was a result of Lissouba's failure to stop UNITA and the Cabindan separatist movements using Congo-Brazzaville as a rear base for attacks on Angola.

The Electronic Mail and Guardian reported on 17 October that "UNITA's last real supply line was through Congo-Brazzaville. At one point Congo-Brazzaville was exporting more diamonds than it has in the ground - most of them believed to be Angolan and produced by UNITA".

International criticism

Several sources have gone on record to condemn the military defeat of Lissouba.

The South African government's Foreign Affairs Department spokesperson, Marco Boni said on 21 October that Pretoria was not in a position to "simply recognise" a military leader who had come to power by overthrowing a democratically-elected government.

Even though Congo-Brazzaville is not a member of the Southern African Development Community, its Executive Secretary, Kaire Mbuende, said on 23 October that "it is a deplorable situation that we had a change of government in this way". However, he noted that the de facto president Sassou-Nguesso had talked of putting together a government of national unity.

Both the United States and Britain have called for Angolan forces to be withdrawn immediately. However, the French government has taken a more positive line. Minister Charles Josselin, stated that "it's Sassou-Nguesso who is the master of Brazzaville and . we consider that today the man with whom one must discuss putting in place a new democratic process is Denis Sassou-Nguesso".

Angola hosts regional summit

Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos on 27 October hosted a summit with Presidents Denis Sassou-Nguesso of Congo-Brazzaville, Laurent Kabila of Congo-Kinshasa, and Omar Bongo of Gabon.

The summit was called to improve relations between the presidents. President Bongo had been a strong supporter of the ousted Pascal Lissouba, and of Jonas Savimbi. There have also been reports of tense relations between the new presidents of the two Congos.

In the summit's final communique, the leaders agreed "not to allow the use of their territories by groups of armed factions for politically and militarily destabilising the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each of their states".

British Government acts against UNITA

The British Government has taken immediate steps to comply with the recently imposed sanctions against UNITA.

The necessary provisions to bring the UN sanctions into UK legislation were signed by the Privy Council on 30 October, and laid before Parliament on 31 October. A Common Position has been agreed and signed at the European Union. The intention of the Foreign Office is to stop the functioning of the UNITA Office in London. Sources in the Foreign Office state that the most effective way of doing this is to expel the UNITA representative, Anibal Kandeya, from the country, and it is expected that the Home Office will be contacting Kandeya as the Angola Peace Monitor goes to press.

However, the actual closing of the UNITA office remains a difficult task, as the office has changed its name to an import-export company. Similarly, the UNITA office in Washington is now named the Centre for Democracy in Angola, and has been quoted in the London-based journal Southscan as such.

The AFP news agency reported on 30 October that France has announced that it is to close UNITA's office in Paris. Foreign Ministry spokesperson Jacques Rummelhardt said France believed UNITA "understands the strong message from the international community and will face its obligations".

The lengthy delay in imposing sanctions has made the process of controlling UNITA activities abroad much harder, and may have given UNITA breathing space to tie up arms contracts internationally.

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Angola Peace Monitor

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"Unacceptable" last minute concessions save UNITA from sanctions

The United Nation's Security Council on 29 September in New York stepped back from their promise to impose further sanctions on the Angolan rebel movement, UNITA, the day before the sanctions were due to come into force (see APM no.12, Vol III).

The sanctions agreed by the Security Council, under the Presidency of Britain's Ambassador to the UN, John Weston, on 28 August, would have placed travel restrictions on senior UNITA members, banned flights (apart from of a humanitarian nature) into UNITA-held areas, and closed down UNITA offices internationally.

The decision to back down from confronting UNITA was taken under heavy pressure from the United States, who in September took over the monthly rotating Presidency of the Security Council. The move shocked senior figures involved in the peace process both in Angola and internationally. Now UNITA has been given a further month of grace.

Under the latest Security Council resolution, the additional sanctions have been "postponed until 00.01 EST on 30 October 1997". The sanctions will then, as set out in the previous resolutions, come into effect unless "concrete and irreversible steps" to comply with all the obligations set out under the Lusaka Protocol have been taken by UNITA, including the demilitarisation of all its forces, transformation of its Radio Vorgan into a non-party political broadcaster, and fully cooperating with the process of extending state administration throughout the country.

The previous resolution also specifically demanded that UNITA provide immediately to the Joint Commission accurate and complete information on the strength of all its armed personnel, in order for them to be verified, disarmed and demobilised.

The decision of the Security Council is in stark contrast to the report from Kofi Annan on 13 August where he stated that "last minute half-hearted concessions by UNITA, under pressure and on the eve of Security Council deliberations are no longer acceptable".

Passing Resolution 1130, the Security Council noted the report of the Secretary-General of 24 September, "and subsequent information on steps taken by UNITA".

UNITA withdraws from Negage and Cuango

In the face of international pressure for them to comply fully with the Lusaka Protocol, the agreement signed in 1994 underpinning the peace process, Jonas Savimbi's rebel movement has been able to stave off international action by the surrender of two towns.

Typical of UNITA's tactics, the rebel movement waited until 29 September before handing over the town of Negage to state administration. Negage had recently been used by UNITA as a major military base, with the airstrip being used to fly in weapons and troop reinforcements.

However, by 29 September UNITA troops who occupied the town had retreated into the countryside. Hundreds of local people heard speeches from Angolan Government, UN and UNITA representatives.

On 30 September the diamond-rich municipality of Cuango was handed over to state administration. The hand-over was attended by Minister for Territorial Administration, Faustino Muteka, who stressed that "in the next three months there must be a return to normalisation in the countryside".

Threats by UNITA

UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi had threatened to withdraw from the peace process if sanctions were applied. Speaking to the Portuguese newspaper, Expresso, Savimbi

said "if sanctions are imposed on UNITA, we will abandon the peace protocol".

UN Spokesman, David Wimhurst, on 26 September dismissed the threat, telling Associated Press that "they're trying to exert pressure on the international community. It's a question of who's going to blink".

#### Security Council lays out terms

Speaking after the Security Council meeting, its current President, US Ambassador to the UN Bill Richardson, said that "council members expect that during this period [until 30 October], UNITA will cooperate with the extension of state administration, including Cuango, Negage, Mavinga, Adulo and Bailundo".

He continued that "council members also expect that UNITA will take concrete steps to demobilise and disarm its remaining troops and cease its hostile propaganda, both inside and outside the country". However, there were no specific indications of what the US and other Security Council members expect of UNITA on these issues by the end of the month.

The crucial issue of the extension of state administration into the rural areas was not highlighted. However, one aspect of this might be being addressed. Officials quoted in a Reuters report claim that the handing over of Cuango should result in a comprehensive deal on the country's diamonds. Many observers see a diamond deal as being crucial to UNITA fully incorporating itself into the peace process.

#### Background to sanctions

The additional sanctions, agreed on 28 August, were to be imposed following information gathered by the UN Observer Mission in Angola, MONUA, which showed that UNITA was recruiting, remobilising, and regrouping its military forces. There are no indications that this process has been stopped.

The UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, warned the Security Council on 13 August (S/1997/640) that "the landing of over 120 flights between 1 and 30 July at UNITA-controlled airstrips scattered throughout the central and eastern parts of the country, which MONUA

were not allowed to verify, are clear indications of extensive military preparations".

These "extensive military preparations" have taken place at the same time as UNITA members have been working in positions granted to them in the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation, and in the National Assembly where 70 UNITA deputies sit.

Ready for sanctions

The international community spent the month of August preparing for the imposition of the further sanctions. In some countries, civil servants were preparing the necessary primary legislation.

The British Government made clear its readiness and willingness to impose the sanctions at the conference - Achieving lasting peace in Angola: the unfinished agenda - held jointly by ACTSA, Christian Aid and the Catholic Institute for International Relations on 4 September.

Speaking at the conference, Tony Lloyd MP, Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, said, "the Security Council does not go through the process of the imposition of sanctions in a light-hearted or frivolous fashion. It is actually quite difficult to get international coherence for that process to come together, and I would like to pay tribute to the role of British diplomats who worked extremely hard with many others to make sure that the resolution went through".

He continued that, "existing sanctions against UNITA have in the past proved hard to enforce and the measures proposed under the present Security Council Resolution are going to need the active co-operation and willingness of all parties in the international community if they are to be made effective. However, if that sanctions regime is in place, the United Kingdom will do everything it can, both by ourselves and within the international community, to make that sanctions regime work".

These preparations reflected international opinion, as endorsed by the UN Secretary-General, who gave a report to the Security Council as late as the 24 September, stating: "I am not yet in a position to advise the

Security Council that UNITA has taken the necessary steps to comply with all the obligations set out in paragraphs 2 and 3 of its Resolution 1127 [on 28 August 1997]. Such steps would have to include, in particular, the immediate provision by UNITA to the UN of credible and verifiable information about the strength of the residual armed elements and weapons, and to allow the state administration to be extended to strategically important areas of the country."

He stated that he considered that "the figure of 6,052 claimed by UNITA to be the total of its residual troops remains unconvincing", and that "the quality and quantity of weapons surrendered to MONUA by these residual troops are insignificant". Of the 3,317 weapons handed over, only 56.5 percent were found to be serviceable and in good condition. Only 46,532 pieces of ammunition were handed over.

Kofi Annan continued, "so far, no major artillery pieces or communication equipment have been handed over, except for six 82mm mortars and forty three 40mm rocket launchers, casting further doubt on the credibility of the demilitarisation exercise".

On the extension of state administration he stated that, "there is little doubt that the delay in extension of state administration to major strategic locations such as Andulo, Bailundo, Cuango, Mavinga and Negage is a result of political consideration".

The international consensus on the need for additional sanctions to be taken against UNITA was underlined on 23 September, when the Council of the European Union agreed a common position on implementing the additional measures.

Angolans welcome move - publicly

The Angolan Government has put on a brave face following the decision to suspend the sanctions package. The Angolan Embassy in Washington stated that "the UN, in close consultation with the Troika of observers and with the full support of the Angolan Government, has decided to postpone the application of sanctions until 30 October in response to last minute actions by UNITA to fulfil its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol".

However, privately government officials have expressed anger and resentment at the decision, which they blame on the United States.

Some commentators have pointed to the fact that US diamond dealer Maurice Templesman, of Lazar Kaplan, has been negotiating with UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi over a diamond deal to follow a lasting peace. Commentators have suggested that these negotiations are at a sensitive stage, with huge benefits from a positive outcome.

Rumours are currently circulating that a deal has been reached between the Angolan state diamond mining organisation, Endiama, and UNITA. This would involve regularising and legalising UNITA's diamond mining operations. Such an agreement could prove to be a defining point in the peace process, with UNITA outlining its price for accepting peace.

Two senior Government ministers, Faustino Muteka and Higino Carneiro, had visited Dr Savimbi in Andulo on 15 September, returning on 18 September.

According to a report from Reuters on 1 October, an official close to the peace process said of the proposed deal: "This is a very complicated agreement. This is the beginning of a process that is going to take about three months. During that time you will see a lot of UNITA areas revert to the government, but you will also see UNITA diamond areas legitimised".

The second factor which commentators suggest may have contributed to the strong US pressure to delay imposing the sanctions is the US domestic political situation. This argument is that the Clinton administration is vulnerable to pressure from the Republican-led Senate, where Savimbi's old friend, Jesse Helms is the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee.

However, the US academic, Professor Gerard Bender, views the US Senate circles that used to support Savimbi's cause as having been substantially weakened after 1992, and now without enough power to halt the President from taking tough action against UNITA if necessary.

William Minter, Senior Research Fellow, Africa Policy Information Center, and veteran Angola - watcher, does

not see the UN inaction as a result of a change in policy. In an interview with the Angola Peace Monitor, he said that, "the tendency to give UNITA one more chance, regardless of the demonstrated failure to comply with previous commitments, has been a constant thread in US and international response to violations of Angolan peace agreements. The latest decision to postpone sanctions for another month is fully consistent with this tendency. Once again, Savimbi is calling the international community's bluff."

#### Delay to UNITA's military advantage

Although the delay in the imposition of further sanctions is intended to give UNITA further time to comply with its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol, it could also give UNITA a further month to continue to rearm and reorganise. It is not yet clear whether UNITA has stepped back from the brink of war, or if it is once again playing for time in order to prepare to fight.

The importance of the time factor was raised during the Achieving lasting peace in Angola conference in London.

Peter Simkin, former Director of the UN's Humanitarian Assistance Department in Angola, warned that, "the risks of returning to a general war have greatly increased since FAA launched its recent offensive to remove UNITA from the diamond fields in the Lundas. This has met with stiff opposition from well equipped and trained UNITA forces and any advantages which FAA has could be reduced if the offensive is not successfully completed before the onset of the rains in November".

However, there have also been warnings of possible drought in the Southern African region this year as a result of the El Nino weather system.

#### Conference focuses on lasting peace

A major conference - Achieving lasting peace in Angola: the unfinished agenda, held in London on 4 September, heard from Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Tony Lloyd MP; Angolan Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs, George Chikoti; and other experts on Angola.

The summation was carried out by Dame Margaret Anstee, who was the UN Secretary-General's Special Representative in Angola in the period covering the 1992 elections.

The conference, convened by ACTSA - Action for Southern Africa, Christian Aid and the Catholic Institute for International Relations, will be bringing out a full report shortly. This will be available from ACTSA (at the address below) for 3.50 pounds sterling.

Extension of state administration vital for economy

The conference heard Angolan economist Manuel Nunes stress the importance of the extension of state administration to the whole country for the rehabilitation of the economy.

He pointed out that up to two-thirds of the country is occupied by UNITA, resulting in no freedom of movement of people and goods. Up to 80 percent of the population of Angola live in Government-held areas.

Nunes pointed out that the Angolan economy was in profound crisis, and that the trade in goods and services was virtually non-existent.

Other speakers at the conference noted that the military instability and the curse of landmines had prevented many people returning to farm the land. Angola had previously been an exporter of food, but was now heavily reliant on humanitarian aid.

In the present context, unless the extension of state administration is spread from towns such as Negage, to the rural areas, the economy will not recover.

UNITA deserters warn of threat to peace

Two senior figures in the rebel UNITA movement have fled to government-controlled areas, and have given interviews underlining further the divisions between the Luanda-based UNITA participating in the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation and Savimbi's camp.

Eugenio Manavakola, former UNITA Secretary-General, who signed the Lusaka Protocol on behalf of UNITA, explained on 29 August to a press conference that from

14 February 1995 until 28 August 1997 he was under arrest. He fled from house arrest along with fourteen of his relatives.

The former Secretary-General was elected as a member of the National Assembly on the UNITA ticket. However, whilst under house-arrest, his seat was taken by a UNITA nominee.

Asked about UNITA's plans to restart the war, he replied: "I am a passive UNITA leader. I have not been active for almost three years. I come from jail. In Andulo and Bailundo I managed to gather military information that leads me to believe that in fact there is a faction that is dealing with military readiness, in men and materiel, also landing strips".

In the interview, he denied that he had deserted UNITA. He said that, "I have at this moment profound differences with Dr Savimbi. That is the reason why I say I did not desert UNITA, but I have differences with UNITA". He continued that "nobody can be blamed for my situation but Dr Savimbi".

Defector warns of mercenaries

Another senior UNITA member who fled UNITA, Major Miguel Florentino Sawimbo, went on Angolan TV on 30 August, warning that UNITA is receiving large quantities of war materiel.

Major Sawimbo also warned that there are South African and Moroccan mercenaries working with UNITA, based in Andulo and Mussende.

Aid to Angola

The European Union announced on 8 September that it is to give 2.07 million ECU to the Southern African Development Community (SADC) to assist in landmine clearance.

In August the Swedish Government pledged \$600,000 to the International Organisation of Migration's demobilisation operation in Angola. Subsequently, Portugal pledged a further \$500,000.

Clare Short MP, Secretary of State for International Development announced on 2 October that the British

Government is to double its spending over the next three years on demining efforts worldwide. At present it is spending 5 million pounds sterling a year.

US military training for FAA

The Chief of Staff of the Angolan army, FAA, announced on 26 September that the United States is to provide \$200,000 for training.

The announcement follows a meeting with a visiting US military delegation.

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Angola Peace Monitor

Volume III, Issue 12, 29 August 1997

United Nations impose sanctions as UNITA prepares for war

The United Nations has finally lost patience with the rebel movement, UNITA, and imposed mandatory sanctions which will begin on 30 September, unless the rebel movement demobilises its military forces and co-operates in the extension of State control to areas it currently occupies.

The United Nations Security Council on 28 August adopted resolution 1127, which strongly deplores UNITA's failure to comply with its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol, the agreement signed in 1994 - just over a thousand days ago - which underpins the peace process in Angola.

The sanctions to be brought in include travel and residency restrictions on senior UNITA members, except for those UNITA members on official business of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation (for details of GURN see APM passim). UNITA offices are to be closed. Further sanctions are to be implemented in an attempt to restrict flights into UNITA-controlled territory.

The Secretary General of the UN is to report back to the Security Council by 20 October, and every 90 days

afterwards on UNITA's compliance with its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol.

The Security Council also stated that it "expresses its readiness to consider the imposition of additional measures, such as trade and financial restrictions, if UNITA does not fully comply with its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol and all relevant Security Council resolutions".

#### Warnings ignored

UNITA had been warned on 23 July by the Security Council (Presidential Statement S/PRST/1997/39) that the Security Council reaffirmed its readiness to impose further sanctions because of UNITA's "continued efforts to restore its military capabilities". The Security Council found "the information submitted by UNITA to the Joint Commission on 21 July 1997 with regard to the strength of its armed forces, the extension of State administration and the activities of Vorgan radio to be neither complete nor credible".

The current President of the Security Council, British Ambassador John Weston, reiterated the stronger position on 13 August when he said that "the international community will not tolerate the resumption of hostilities in Angola. The situation is totally unacceptable".

The imposition of sanctions follows the report to the Security Council by UN Secretary General Kofi Annan on 13 August (S/1997/640).

In his report, he warns that "the peace process in Angola is experiencing some of the most serious difficulties since the signing of the Lusaka Protocol. The progress achieved during the previous two and a half years is being severely undermined by persisting tensions throughout the country". He continues that "it is obvious that the current state of affairs is mainly the result of delays by UNITA in implementing its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol. The complete demilitarisation of UNITA, the restoration of State administration throughout the country, the transformation of radio Vorgan into a non-partisan station, and the true transformation of UNITA into a political party are imperatives for the implementation of the peace process".

## Implementation of sanctions questioned

These sanctions add to the present mandatory sanctions against providing UNITA with either petroleum products or armaments.

However, the existing sanctions have been ineffective, as no mechanism for enforcing the sanctions was set up. A sanctions committee has looked at the problem of sanctions busting. Its only actions were to send a few letters to President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo), to which he did not reply.

This same committee now has the task of overseeing the implementation of the new set of sanctions. The Security Council resolution lays down tasks for the sanctions committee to carry out, but it is not clear what, if any, actions could be taken against member states who do not cooperate with the committee.

Questions have also been raised about the period of grace of one month delay in the imposition of sanctions, which is longer than the expected fortnight. One source in Luanda states that this has dismayed many in the Angolan Government, who point to UNITA's clear preparations for war.

## Eleventh hour tactics rejected by UN

UNITA's standard tactic of offering to carry out some of its obligations just before Security Council meetings has failed to save it from serious censure.

In his report of 13 August, Kofi Annan warned that "last minute half-hearted concessions by UNITA, under pressure and on the eve of Security Council deliberations are no longer acceptable".

UNITA had used the lead up to the Security Council meeting to offer to restart the extension of State administration.

On 18 August an agreement was reached between the UN Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA), the three observer nations (Russia, Portugal and the United States), the Government and UNITA. Under the agreement there was to be an immediate resumption of the process of handing

back territory to the Government. Within days the important town of Negage was to be handed over, along with up to forty other areas.

By mid-September 145 areas were to be handed over to government control, with the whole country being under state control by the end of November. The diamond regions of Lunda Sul and Norte, where UNITA occupies major mining areas, were to be the last to be handed over.

However, the agreement was clearly a sham as only one minor town was subsequently handed over. According to one diplomat, quoted in the South African-based Mail and Guardian on 25 August, "this is vintage UNITA. They are trying to delay as long as they can to try and avoid the imposition of these sanctions".

The issue of State administration is one of the central issues which stand in the way of a lasting peace.

The UN Secretary General stated in his report of 13 August that "the immediate normalisation of State administration is of crucial importance not only for the unity and territorial integrity of the country, but also for the economic and social reconstruction of Angola".

A resolution passed by Angola's parliament, the National Assembly, on 25 July, inter alia, "urges the Government to act to uphold sovereignty and national defence, guaranteeing the security of the population and the national wealth, as it is constitutionally empowered to do".

However, the Angolan Government gained praise for its patience from the UN Secretary General, who stated in his report that "although the Government had declared its intention to resume the functions of normalisation throughout the country on 25 July 1997, it has so far refrained from taking unilateral measures in this regard".

UN to slow down withdrawal

Following the increased tensions in the country, the UN Security Council agreed with Kofi Annan's plans to extend the presence of MONUA in Angola by a month.

In his report of 13 August, Annan proposed to "postpone the withdrawal of the UN military units from Angola and to retain in the country up to 2,650 military personnel until the end of October 1997".

The London-based Financial Times stated on 29 July that MONUA is costing 450,000 a day.

UNITA troops prepare for war

The Force Commander of MONUA, Major General P V Sibanda, has written a damning report outlining UNITA's war preparations.

The key points of the report are:

Recruitment - the report states that although people in UNITA-controlled areas were reluctant to give information, one case of forced recruitment was confirmed to have taken place around Cubal and Ganda areas in Benguela Province, where about 200 young men were forcibly recruited and taken to Bailundo.

Training - MONUA has managed to confirm the existence of a training camp, at Fazenda Luiz Grilo, following an interview with a UNITA deserter, Lieutenant Severino Sucupia, who said that UNITA had refused to allow him to be quartered and demobilised. According to his information, a thousand UNITA soldiers have so far been trained at the camp.

Regrouping - MONUA has stated that UNITA is training two categories of people. The first is of soldiers who were never quartered; the second is of soldiers who were quartered and demobilised. The report states that "MONUA takes this as a clear case of remobilisation of troops by UNITA".

The report also warns of the sudden rise in reports of UNITA troop concentrations and forced changes in the destinations of demobilised troops by UNITA authorities was confirmed by MONUA at Luau in Moxico Province, Calibuitchi in Lunda Norte Province and Mussende in Cuanza Sul Province.

The report states that the above "casts doubt on UNITA's commitment to peace. These actions by UNITA should be denounced in the strongest terms as UNITA cannot expect to participate in the structures of the

Government of Unity and National Reconstruction, yet at the same time run a private army on the side and continue to control large areas of the country".

One issue that the report did not address was the 30,000 UNITA troops who were in the quartering areas but absconded before being demobilised. Reports (see APM ad passim) suggest that many of these returned to their units.

According to the London-based Financial Times on 29 July, a senior UN official admitted that "we suspect that most of the 20,000 UNITA soldiers whom we have demobilised have actually remained under some sort of UNITA command".

#### UNITA rearming for war

Despite the international embargo on the sale of petroleum products or armaments to UNITA, the rebel movement is continuing to receive supplies giving it the capacity to relaunch the war.

In the UN Secretary General's report to the UN Security Council, Kofi Annan points out that the "landing of over 120 flights between 1 and 30 July at UNITA-controlled airstrips scattered throughout the central and eastern parts of the country, which MONUA was not allowed to verify, are clear indications of extensive military preparations".

According to the London-based Africa Analysis on 22 August, UNITA is importing up to 40 plane-loads of supplies per week. Various sources suggest that most of these aircraft are flying from either South Africa or Zambia, though SA Government sources deny these reports. The port of Pointe Norte in Congo-Brazzaville is also said to be used as a transit point.

#### UNITA replanting mines

The Secretary General's report also points out that the planting of new mines in UNITA-controlled areas has also been reported: "on the Saurimo-Cacolo road, which had been extensively used, a civilian vehicle detonated an anti-tank mine on 4 July, resulting in the death of three people and the injury of many others. Demining experts who visited the scene discovered that the mine had been recently replanted".

The report also states that "there have been worrisome reports from international demining NGO's and the Angolan National Institute for the Removal of Unexploded Ordnance indicating a trend towards the resumption of mine laying in some parts of the country. Such incidents have been confirmed in the provinces of Malanje, Lunda Norte and Lunda Sul". The report also states that UNITA is imposing restrictions on demining organisations.

Demining activities are restricted to seven of Angola's 18 provinces, and only 8% of the 1,532 minefields identified have been cleared.

#### UNITA attacks

The Joint Commission - made up of representatives of MONUA, the troika of observer states, the Government and UNITA - has condemned attacks perpetrated by UNITA in Lunda Norte at Posto de Fronteira Nordeste on 2 July and Posto de Fronteira Muaquesse on 24 July.

Analysts have suggested that these frontier posts were attacked to clear the way for the return of UNITA elements who were defeated in Zaire during the recent overthrow of Zaire's president Mobutu Sese Seko.

#### Government rebuilding its defences

As a result of the increased military tension, the Angolan Government has taken steps to rearm and reinforce its defence forces.

According to the UN Secretary General, the Government has temporarily suspended the disarmament of the civilian population, insisting on the disarmament of civilians in both Government and UNITA-controlled areas simultaneously.

It is argued that the civilian population played an important role in the repulsion of UNITA attacks, especially in Luanda, following the rebels' rejection of the 1992 election results and their subsequent return to war. Civilians were also blamed by some for human rights abuses during this period.

The Government is also reportedly moving arms and soldiers to boost defences in key towns such as Huambo,

Uige and Malanje. These are surrounded by UNITA troops, and sources say that UNITA may have hopes of retaking Huambo in particular.

In a move that many consider to be highly significant, the Government recently reached agreement with the United States for the purchase of six refurbished C-130 cargo planes, which will improve the Angolan army's logistics.

Angola faces aid drought

Angola is facing a growing economic and social crisis as aid to the war-torn country is falling far short of the bare minimum needed to assist the peace process.

The 1997 United Nations Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal, which co-ordinates humanitarian assistance for Angola, has so far only received 20.6% of the funds needed. Whilst some of the projects covered by the Appeal have been delayed due to the lack of progress in the peace process, other projects have become more vital due to the delayed return of refugees. Because most refugees and displaced persons have not returned to their homes, and because minefields remain a huge hazard, it is expected that next year's harvest will be less than planned.

The financial status of the demobilisation process is also in crisis. Only \$16.4 million out of a total of \$56.6 million needed have been provided.

The September 1995 Brussels Round Table, which raised pledges of around \$1 billion for the reconstruction of the country, has so far only produced \$6.8 million from member states, \$2.5 million from the UNDP.

Meanwhile, Sweden has announced that it is to donate \$24 million to be used in community rehabilitation projects in Malanje Province and in the health sector. Norway has announced that it will grant Benguela province \$7 million to renovate the local telecommunications network.

Huge oil find and higher oil prices boost future economy

The French petroleum company Elf has announced that it has found a huge deposit of oil in its Dalia

concession. It is estimated that the find is larger than the 700m - 1 billion barrel deposit found at Girassol last year, perhaps as large as 3 billion barrels.

The consortium involved in the concession is Elf Aquitaine, Exxon Corp, Esso, British Petroleum, Statoil, Norsk Hydro and Fina.

Ranger Oil has received approval by the State-owned Sonangol to develop the Kiame oil field, estimated to have reserves of 8 million barrels. The average price of a barrel of oil is now just under \$18.

New diamond concessions

Petra Diamonds Ltd has been granted a 10,000 square mile concession in north-eastern Angola, including six known kimberlites and 16 diamadiferous alluvial occurrences.

Trans Hex International and Longreach Gold Oil are to explore and develop three diamond concessions in Lunda Norte.

Conference to debate peace process

Leading international figures will meet in London on 4 September to debate the prospects for peace in Angola.

British Minister of State in the Foreign Office, Tony Lloyd MP, former UN Under-Secretary General Dame Margaret Anstee, and Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, George Chikoti, will speak at the conference organised by ACTSA, Christian Aid and the Catholic Institute for International Relations.

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Angola Peace Monitor

Volume III, Issue 11, 17 July 1997

Increased UNITA attacks fuel fears of renewed war

Attacks by UNITA have increased dramatically in recent weeks, leading to hundreds of people fleeing for the shelter of Government-held towns. This is being read as

a clear sign of the military leadership of UNITA'S determination to fiercely resist the agreed process of the extension of state administration to all parts of the country. The was expected to follow on from the formation in April of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation, of which UNITA is a partner. It is estimated that UNITA continues to occupy two-thirds of the country.

Military sources in Luanda suggest that the increase in attacks is a sign that UNITA is regrouping. The main area of tension is along the border with the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire). In June this was the region where the Angolan army, FAA, launched an operation to stem the flow of armed elements entering the country following the defeat of President Mobutu (see APM no.10, Vol III).

Sources state that the Government operation in this area is over and that UNITA has now counter-attacked, taking back several areas retaken by FAA. Lieutenant General Marques Correia said on 7 July that UNITA had launched six military operations to recover lost positions. He gave as an example that UNITA has seized the mining area of Maludi.

Ominously, General Corriea said that "UNITA forgets that if this situation continues we will bring in reinforcements and take control of the situation once and for all".

On 3 July the Government spokesperson on the Joint Commission, Higino Carneiro, said that an attack had taken place on a border post 55km from Nsange.

General Adriano Mackenzie on 4 July stated on Radio Nacional de Angola that UNITA had attacked border posts at Itanda, Cambamba and Muaquesse, and attacked and remined roads in the area.

UN condemn UNITA for attacks and hijacks

The United Nations Observer Mission in Angola, MONUA, (the successor to UNAVEM III) has condemned UNITA for stepping up military actions along the border.

A team of five MONUA military observers, sent to the border to investigate allegations of UNITA attacks, were detained for three days by UNITA personnel.

MONUA released a joint statement with the Troika of observer states (the United States, Portugal and the Russian Federation) in which they "condemn in the strongest terms these negative acts on the part of UNITA".

MONUA has found that UNITA has occupied border posts. The head of MONUA's military component, General Phillip Sibanda of Zimbabwe, told the joint commission that it was clear that an attack had taken place.

A team of military observers had travelled to the neighbouring villages of Muquenda, Calibuitchi, Camueca and Mbanji, all of which had recently been abandoned. Burned huts were visible in Mbanji.

The statement continued that MONUA observers had flown by helicopter over the villages of Antonio, Luaco and Sapoco and seen signs that raids or harassment attacks had taken place.

The statement concluded that "the joint commission condemns UNITA for acts, whose veracity has not been contested, which are against the relevant provisions of the Lusaka Protocol".

The attack follows an incident on 7 June when a WFP plane was prevented from leaving a UNITA area, and three UNAVEM military observers were beaten.

Attacks to clear way for returning troops

The attacks along the border are an attempt to clear a path for returning UNITA troops, who were defeated in Zaire. A source recently returned from Angola states that UNITA has several battalions just over the border in DR Congo, and are desperate to get them into Lunda Norte.

As previously reported in the Angola Peace Monitor, the Lundas contain the most productive diamond mines in Angola, and UNITA is believed to be illegally mining over \$500 million worth of diamonds every year. This accounts for UNITA's determination to block the extension of state administration to the province.

World Food Programme warning

The World Food Programme warned on 10 July that six thousand people have recently fled the fighting in Lunda Norte, and that many of them now face severe food shortages.

The refugees have fled to the small mining town of Nzaji. A study has found that 13.8 per cent of the children sheltering in the town of Maludi were suffering from severe malnutrition. The situation in Nzaji is said to be less acute.

#### Attacks reported elsewhere

There have been many reports of attacks and military movements by UNITA throughout the country. Estimates are that UNITA continues to have military control over two-thirds of the country.

#### Amongst recent reports:

\* MONUA has confirmed that on 7 July there was an attack on a dam on the Cunge River, 6km from Camacupa in Bie province, and that a two hour firefight took place. The dam is not a particularly important target as its electricity production was halted in 1992 during a previous attack by UNITA.

\* The official Angolan news agency, ANGOP, has reported concerns about troop movements in Bie province, and the fear that UNITA may attack the town of Camacupa.

\* The police chief of Benguela province on 14 July said that UNITA's leader, Jonas Savimbi, had personally travelled to the villages of Chicuma and Ebanga in Benguela to incite the population. According to Rual Hoka, Savimbi told his audience that UNITA would soon seize the towns of Ganda, Cubal, Caimbambo and Chongoroi. According to Hoka, 800 young men had recently been recruited into UNITA's army and sent to Bimbi, near Bailundo.

\* It has been suggested by sources in Luanda that one objective of UNITA is to re-capture Huambo city, with the aim of splitting the country.

\* Televisao Popular de Angola reported on 8 July that UNITA has 1,200 heavily armed troops at Chicomba District in Huila Province.

\* On 9 July AFP reported that 14 people were hacked to death by UNITA fighters in an attack on the southern village of Canajoaxa.

\* UNITA is also said to be preventing demining in Malaje province.

UNITA rearm and refuel

A source recently returned from Angola states that a witness has seen 200 drums of diesel being unloaded at the airstrip in Andulo.

It is understood that after Lunda Norte's Luzamba, Bie's town of Andulo is a major priority for Jonas Savimbi.

UNITA remining

UNITA has started to plant mines, which flies in the face of demining efforts. In Angola mines kill and maim thousands of civilians, and hinder agricultural production and the free movement of people and goods.

A MONUA spokesperson, David Hamshurt, stated that UNITA troops had replanted landmines on roads which had been cleared and reopened by the United Nations.

Lieutenant-General Marques Correia said that UNITA was mining the road to the provincial capital of Lunda Norte.

Major Joao Carlos Carvalho on 4 July accused UNITA of planting mines along the Cacula-Quilengues road, Cacula-Caluquembe-Caconda road and the Matala-Jamba road.

Meanwhile, the Angolan Minister for External Relations, Vanancio de Moura, said on 16 June that Angola would sign the Ottawa convention banning the manufacture, distribution, use and storage of anti-personnel mines.

Savimbi holds court to VIPs

On 7 July, UN Special Representative Alioune Blondin Beye visited Andulo to discuss the present crisis with Jonas Savimbi.

It is understood that Blondin Beye needs to complete a report to the UN Secretary General by the end of July, and that he is still trying to get Jonas Savimbi to retreat from his present path.

Sources in Luanda say that Savimbi is also due to receive a special emissary from the US administration. The emissary is said to be carrying a plea for Savimbi to step back from war, with the message that he if he does not, he will get no further support from the administration.

Angolan army integrates ex-UNITA elements

On 10 July the Angolan army completed the integration of former UNITA fighters into its ranks.

Under the Lusaka Protocol and subsequent agreements, UNITA was to provide 26,000 soldiers for the united army. However, this number was renegotiated down to 18,000. In the end only just over 11,000 volunteers joined FAA.

The majority of the fit soldiers in the UNITA demobilisation camps have deserted- numbering over 15,000 - many rejoining UNITA's military machine. Most of those left were either very young, disabled, or forcibly recruited by UNITA to make up the numbers.

Out of the 11,000 that did volunteer to join FAA, 350 have become officers, 750 NCO's and 10,000 privates.

An observer of the ceremony to complete FAA reported that UNITA's General Ben Ben gave a speech, the content of which was interpreted as being a sign of loyalty to FAA.

Signs of splits in UNITA

There are growing signs that UNITA may yet split between moderates who have taken up positions in the state, and militants who remain with UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi.

According to the UN Development Programme's resident representative in Angola, Bernard Ntegeye: "it is incredible to see the great symbiosis between the two groups [UNITA and MPLA]; it is quite clear that they all see the same objective, namely, to have the government functioning".

Ntegeye told correspondents at a press conference in New York at the end of June that UNITA members within the Government were very active. Some people had

suggested that their entry had injected more elements of transparency into the government; their presence was a very welcome one, and he was personally very optimistic.

However, on 4 July a captured UNITA lieutenant, Paulo Tumo, told a press conference that UNITA military chiefs are executing all UNITA elements committed to the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol.

It is impossible at present to verify this claim. However, this would repeat a pattern where at key points of military tension, Jonas Savimbi has led a purge of very senior colleagues, who have either fled to Government held areas or been killed.

UN talk tough on UNITA troops

The United Nations has made a significant change from its approach of turning a blind eye to UNITA's military capacity, and put the burden of the blame for the present crisis on the rebel organisation.

Whereas previous Security Council resolutions have called on both sides to abide by the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol, the agreement underpinning the peace process, the latest resolution on 30 June (S/RES/1118 - 1997) uses the phrase "calls upon the Government of Angola and in particular UNITA to .", placing the emphasis on UNITA.

The resolution also makes clear that UNITA has a military force at large in the country, contrary to UNITA's declaration in December 1996 that it had quartered all its forces.

The Security Council "demands that UNITA provide to the Joint Commission without delay complete information regarding all armed personnel under its control, including the security detachment of the leader of the Largest Opposition Party, the so-called 'mining police', armed UNITA personnel returning from outside the national boundaries, and any other armed UNITA personnel not previously reported to the United Nations, in order for them to be verified, disarmed and demobilised in accordance with the Lusaka Protocol and agreements between the parties in the context of the Joint Commission".

One crucial aspect of the Security Council resolution was that it requested "the Secretary General to report on the situation by 15 August 1997". The Security Council is to review the situation at the end of August. Diplomatic sources in Luanda suggest that unless there is an unexpected volte-face by Savimbi, the next step to be taken could be the imposition of further sanctions against UNITA.

Some commentators suggest that the Angolan army, FAA, is waiting until after this report is compiled, perhaps as early as the end of July, before launching an operation against UNITA in Lunda Norte.

Speaking on 27 June, prior to the Security Council meeting, the Secretary General's Special Representative to Angola, Alioune Blondin Beye, said that an investigation by UNAVEM showed that "UNITA forces it saw were different from what was proclaimed in a UNITA statement last December".

Mungo possibly new headquarters

Sources in Angola state the Jonas Savimbi has ordered a residence to be built in Mungo, 12km north of Huambo.

Constant movements of UNITA soldiers are reported in the area, and it has been claimed that the local population is being trained to oppose the restoration of state administration in the area.

State administration spreads slowly

Government administration was reinstated in Sumba and Quelo in Zaire province in northern Angola on 30 June.

By this date the Government had only taken over 12 of the 145 places scheduled for transfer.

UNITA troops in Republic of Congo

The Angolan Ambassador to the United Nations, Afonso Van-Dunem "Mbinda" speaking before the UN Security Council in New York on 30 June alleged that UNITA has 2,000 troops at Point Noire in the Republic of Congo.

Demobilisation continues

The demobilisation of UNITA troops continues, despite evidence that many of them are returning to their military units.

The International Organisation for Migration announced on 7 July that it had provided return and resettlement assistance to 19,238 demobilised soldiers, mainly from UNITA.

It reports that the pace of demobilisation has increased, with an average of 1,000 a day being demobilised during June. However, it warns that over \$10 million was required to complete the process.

However, there is a growing awareness that demobilised soldiers are rejoining UNITA's military force and taking part in fighting.

A UN Military Commander, Colonel Subrata Saha, said on 12 July that 96% of UNITA ex-soldiers in Uige province are now in areas under UNITA control.

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Angola Peace Monitor

Volume III, Issue 10, 30 June 1997

UN Security Council confronted with explosive military tension

Military tension in Angola between the Government and the rebel UNITA movement is at its highest since the signing of the Lusaka Protocol peace agreement in 1994, despite the integration of UNITA into the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation, and the incorporation of some UNITA soldiers into the national army. Both sides have accused each other of violent attacks, and more evidence is emerging that UNITA has used the period of relative peace since 1994 to reorganise and re-arm its forces.

The strong possibility of a return to war has led the United Nations Security Council to appeal "in the strongest terms to both parties to refrain from any use of force" in its resolution (SCR 1118) on 30 June 1997. The Security Council decided that the UN Verification Mission in Angola, UNAVEM III, whose mandate ran out on

30 June, is to be replaced by the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola, MONUA.

MONUA is to be a scaled-down presence for the UN in Angola, the major difference being that it will not have "blue helmets", the military peacekeepers of UNAVEM III who were to keep the peace and verify the completion of the military aspects of the Lusaka Protocol.

Despite the serious threat of a return to full-scale war, the UN intends to withdraw its peacekeepers. In his report of 5 June (S/1997/138), the Secretary General stated his plan to withdraw 900 military personnel in June, 500 in July and 2,000 in August. The remaining 800 would leave before the end of September 1997. This is a one month delay over the previous timetable. One infantry company is to be left until the end of November 1997 to protect UN property.

MONUA's mandate is to be reviewed on 30 October 1997, and is to extend until 1 February 1998.

Renewed major clashes

The first major clashes between the Government's army, FAA, and UNITA's military wing, FALA, have taken place along Angola's border with the newly named Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire).

Since the defeat of ex-President Mobutu Sese Seko on 16 May at the hands of Laurent Kabila's AFDL, thousands of UNITA fighters who had gone to help the Zairian dictator have been flooding back into the north-east of Angola (see APM no.9 vol III). They have been joined by refugees and militias of the extremist Rwandan Hutu Interahamwe. It has also been reported that joining the influx into Angola were members of Mobutu's defeated presidential guard. Against this background the Government launched in May what it describes as a limited operation to secure the border from this cocktail of armed forces entering its country.

Fighting has taken place in several places, and the Government has made some gains. In particular, it took the town of Luia, where UNITA had an airbase. Reporters visiting the area state that the FAA suffered 10 fatalities, with 47 wounded. UNITA are said to have lost 58 soldiers, with 23 prisoners taken.

The Angolan television company, TPA, and CNN World Reports interviewed some of the prisoners. One was a Zairian, and another was a UNITA soldier who had an identity card issued by the UN at the quartering area Vila Nova, in Huambo (in the centre of the country). Vila Nova is 750km from the area of the fighting, which indicates that UNITA troops have been flown into the area.

According to the independent Angolan news-sheet, Folha-8, the UNITA troops are commanded by General Vatuva, who was a UNITA representative at the Joint Commission, the body composed of the UN, the Angolan Government, UNITA, and the troika of observer states - Portugal, the United States, and the Russian Federation.

On 24 June Folha-8 stated that 90 per cent of Angola's 2,500 km border with the Congo is under UNITA's control.

UNAVEM opening eyes

The United Nations Verification Mission in Angola (UNAVEM III) has begun to publicly question UNITA's commitment to the peace process, following months of attempted quiet diplomacy.

A strongly worded statement from UNAVEM III on 25 June states that "UNITA combatants spoken to by the UNAVEM-Troika team which visited the UNITA-controlled areas . stated that those fighting the FAA were small groups of 'mining police'. This begs the question - how can small groups of 'mining police' engage in the heavy battles which UNITA claim have taken place in the Andrade area?"

The statement also made clear the Mission's displeasure at the Angolan Government for allowing a group of journalists into the battle area on 21 - 22 June, while on 19 June UN team-site observers in Andrade were not allowed out of the town "for their own safety".

Joint Commission calls for an end to fighting

The Joint Commission met on 20 June, and put out a statement calling for the end to the Government military operation.

However, the Joint Commission did state that it "understands the Government's legitimate security concerns along the Angolan borders".

The Joint Commission also called on UNITA to give it information about "the UNITA presidential guard and the mining police, whose existence is not known to UNAVEM III. These forces must abstain from any activity, and wait to be controlled, verified and demobilised".

Fighting prelude to big clash over diamonds

Despite the significant escalation the fighting in Lunda Norte province represents, which reportedly finished on 17 June, commentators warn that it was very limited compared with a possible full-scale confrontation.

UNITA controls 80 per cent of Angola's diamond areas, and earns an estimated \$500 million a year from its illegal mining operations. The state diamond organisation, Endiama, has been in negotiations with UNITA for over a year to get UNITA's operations placed on a legal footing.

UNITA's mining company, Sociedade Geral das Minas, has been offered five mining concessions, and UNITA has been offered a stake in the Sociedade Mineira de Desenvolvimento, which has been awarded major mining concessions in the Cuango valley. However, the failure of UNITA to reach agreement to hand over the diamond regions has caused an impasse.

The diamond-rich province of Lunda Norte is likely to be a focus for the Government in its attempts to regain control of the country - of which UNITA controls over two thirds at present.

Lunda Norte is also of the highest strategic importance for UNITA. Apart from their crack-troops returning from Zaire, there have been reports that 2,000 of UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi's "Presidential" guard have been flown to the area.

During recent clashes UNITA lost some 10 - 15 per cent of the areas it held in the diamond region. Angolan commentators warn that unless a formula for the disarmament and quartering of UNITA's army is found, a large scale return to war is likely.

## UNITA's military capacity

Evidence is emerging that UNITA's military capacity is greater than previously feared.

Under the Lusaka Protocol, UNITA committed itself to disarming, quartering and demobilising its armed forces. However, the UN Secretary General in his report on 5 June to the Security Council, admitted that the proportion of deserters from these quartering areas has exceeded 35 per cent.

According to Folha-8 there have been regular flights taking UNITA soldiers to the Lundas from near the Huambo quartering area at Vila Nova.

The Minister for Territorial Administration, Faustino Muteka, wrote to the UN Secretary General's Special Representative in Angola, Alioune Blondin Beye, on 5 June warning that UNITA still has an estimated 35,000 soldiers at its disposal.

The Minister alleges that UNITA maintains the following:

- in the Northern Region, 26 battalions, 11 guerrilla columns and 20 platoons, an estimated 6,000 men headed by Brigadier Alex;

- \* in the Eastern Region, 29 Battalions, seven guerrilla columns and 17 platoons, an estimated 6,000 men headed by Brigadier Mbule;

- \* in the Central Region, 33 battalions, 30 guerrilla columns and 23 special groups, an estimated 11,000 men, headed by General Chimuco;

- \* in the south, UNITA two battalions, eight guerrilla columns, nine special platoons, around 1,200 men headed by Brigadier Yendelele;

- \* in Kuando Kubango around nine battalions, five guerrilla columns, six special commando groups, around 5,000 men headed by Brigadier Kalutotay.

## New arms for UNITA

According to the South African-based Mail and Guardian, large quantities of new arms have been entering the country destined for UNITA, including new Stinger missiles - advanced hand-held anti-aircraft weapons.

There have also been detailed allegations by the Institute for Security Studies in South Africa that east European and South African arms for UNITA have recently been smuggled into Angola via northern Mozambique.

These allegations have been strongly questioned by the media in Mozambique. Journalists with good connections with the Mozambican security services maintain that the authorities have no knowledge of the alleged trade, and question whether Mozambique is being used as a "whipping boy" for other undisclosed reasons.

#### Defector warns of UNITA's military capacity

A former UNITA Colonel who defected after refusing to take part in further fighting, has warned that Jonas Savimbi intends to launch another war in order to renegotiate the terms of the Lusaka Protocol.

Colonel Altino Rafael Cassange, who deserted in May, warned a press conference on 24 June that UNITA maintained 75 per cent of its forces outside of the quartering areas. He estimated that the total number of troops at Jonas Savimbi's immediate disposal was 60,000 men.

The Colonel stated that UNITA maintains intact various bases and airstrips in the north-east, north and centre of the country, and has hidden various types of weapons from the UN. Their main concentration is in the Lundas, Malange, Kuanza Norte, Bengo and Uige.

The defector detailed how UNITA had switched tactics since the fall of Mobutu in Zaire. He pointed out that UNITA was planning for an urban guerrilla war because "one cannot have a front without a rear-base".

#### Government forces strengthened by UNITA

The strength of the Government's army, FAA, has increased through the incorporation of some ex-UNITA elements into their ranks. UNAVEM reported on 20 June that 11,123 former UNITA soldiers had been incorporated into FAA. In total, 18,000 soldiers are due to join FAA. However, there have been problems getting UNITA fighters to join FAA voluntarily. Either they do not wish to follow a military career, or are carrying out the orders of their UNITA commanders.

One of the central military figures in Lunda Norte is Adriano Makevela Mackenzie, who joined the Angolan army in 1992. Many of his troops were integrated into FAA through the Lusaka Protocol.

In its 24 June issue, Folha-8 interviewed Lopes Antonio "Escuirinho", a former UNITA soldier who joined FAA in January 1997 after being quartered in Quibaxe. He stated that he had participated in combat against UNITA.

Under the Lusaka Protocol, the second in command of FAA is a member of UNITA, General Arlindo Chenda Ben Ben. This is one of the many contradictions within the current situation.

Military tensions rise in other regions

There have been reports that military tensions are at breaking point in provinces other than the Lundas.

UNITA has claimed that there have been offensives against it in the south-western province of Huila, and that three towns controlled by UNITA have been taken back by the FAA in Benguela province.

It also claims that an offensive has been launched by the Government in the north west of the country, between Soyo and Pedra-de-Feitico.

According to a report in the official government news agency, ANGOP, UNITA has destroyed a bridge in the municipality of Quimbele, Uige province on 23 June. The London-based Times stated on 25 June that UNITA is mobilising its forces in Uige.

The Portuguese radio station, Radio Renascenca, reported on 11 June that the government alleges that UNITA soldiers are fighting in Bie province and have tried to take the outskirts of Kuito.

Extension of state administration halted

The process of extending Government control to areas occupied by UNITA has ground to a halt following violence against officials taking part in the operation.

The most serious incident happened in Quibala, in Kuanza Sul province on 30 May, where deputy minister for local government, Miguel N'zau Puna, and UNITA's chief representative on the Joint Commission, Isaias Samakuva, were beaten by a hostile UNITA crowd. Africa Confidential states that they were beaten and called "traitors". N'zau Puna was a general in UNITA's army, before setting up the Angolan Democratic Forum.

Ceremonies on 28 May at Alta Hama and Vila Nova in the central Huambo province, were met by violent pro-UNITA crowds. On the same day, in Londiumbali UNITA crowds refused to allow the hoisting of the Angolan national flag. An attempt was made to attack N'zau Puna.

According to Angolan-based BBC World Service journalist, Barnaby Phillips, Isaias Samakuva claims that the attack was carried out by local hotheads. Phillips points to speculation that there are serious divisions between Luanda-based UNITA politicians who are making a go of the peace process, and hard-line generals who remain with Jonas Savimbi outside the capital and the process.

Repatriation of refugees delayed by UNITA occupation

The return of 27,000 Angolan refugees based in north west Zambia is being delayed because of UNITA's occupation of most of Moxico province. According to Angola's ambassador to Zambia, Manuel Augusto, the repatriation will now be delayed until August at the earliest.

There are more than 300,000 Angolans who fled fighting in the country. There are 200,000 in Congo, 96,000 in Zambia, 12,000 in Congo-Brazzaville and 1,000 in Namibia. A further 15,000 are scattered in 32 other countries.

The UNHCR needs to raise \$38.2 million to pay for the return programme, but has so far only raised \$4.6 million.

IOM gets part of funds

The International Organisation for Migration (IOM), who last month put out an urgent appeal for \$48 million to fund the return of ex-combatants to civil society (see APM no.9 vol III), had by 4 June received \$4 million.

On 13 June the IOM warned that it may have to suspend operations in Angola by the end of June if more money is not forthcoming.

Poor rains lead to harvest shortfall

The World Food Programme published a report on 26 May pointing out that poor rainfall has led to this year's harvest failing to meet the needs of the population.

The WFP estimates that there will be a 530,000 tonnes deficit to be met by imports, of which 251,000 tonnes will need to be met by food aid.

Angolans accused in Congo-Brazzaville violence

Both the Angolan Government and the rebel UNITA movement have been accused of having a role in the present violence in its northern neighbour Congo-Brazzaville.

The London-based newsletter, Africa Confidential, published on 20 June reports of UNITA fighting alongside the current President Pascal Lissouba's militias. UNITA has moved its main African office to Brazzaville following the downfall of Mobutu in Zaire.

Africa Confidential also accused the Angolan Government of channelling arms to the Cobra militia led by General Denis Sassou Nguesso. Sassou Nguesso was the President from 1979 to 1992.

UNITA dissident MP resigns

A further hurdle to the smooth operation of the Angolan parliament, the National Assembly, was cleared when a deputy expelled from UNITA formally resigned from parliament.

Norberto de Castro was elected through the 1992 elections, but contrary to UNITA policy took his seat in the National Assembly. (see APM no.8, vol III).

UNITA expelled de Castro from the rebel movement, and has demanded that he be expelled from the legislature as well.

Two other parliamentarians expelled by UNITA, Fatima Roque and Honorio van Dunem, have also resigned.

UN need more powers - Government

The Angolan Government on 24 June called for the UN to increase the power of its verification mission, as it needs "effective intelligence and reconnaissance mechanisms to detect and identify UNITA's undeclared military and para-military forces outside UNAVEM control".

The Government document, sent to the UN Secretary General, states that UNAVEM "should not minimise the gravity of the current situation in the Angola peace process, but fulfil its responsibilities as the international guarantor of the Lusaka Protocol, proceeding responsibly, among other tasks, to ensure the monitoring and verification of the demilitarisation of UNITA". The Government further proposed that 25 June be declared the deadline for the completion of the incorporation of UNITA forces into the Angolan army, and that 5 July be the end of the quartering of the Rapid Intervention Police. The Rapid Intervention Police, known locally as "Ninjas", have a strong and fearsome reputation for fighting UNITA in the urban areas after UNITA's return to war in 1992.

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Angola Peace Monitor

Volume III, Issue 9, 30 May 1997

UNITA ISOLATED AS MOBUTU FLEES CONGO

The rebel movement UNITA has lost its final major international backer following the flight of ex-President Mobutu Sese Seko on 16 May from the Democratic Republic of Congo, formerly Zaire. This has huge implications for the unfolding peace process in Angola, where UNITA is simultaneously participating in the new Government of Unity and National Reconciliation (GURN) while maintaining military control over huge areas of the country. The victory of Laurent Kabila's Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo (AFDL) in Congo has had an immediate influence in Angola, with an attempt by the Angolan army to halt the influx of thousands of refugees from Congo.

UNITA had survived its abandonment by its previous backers, the United States and apartheid South Africa. However, it had grown increasingly reliant on the Zaire regime for breaking international sanctions, supplying UNITA with arms and petroleum produce. Last October/November, over 450 tons of Bulgarian arms (assault rifles, 60mm and 120mm mortars and rocket-propelled grenades and launchers) were shipped to UNITA via Zaire. UNITA also used Zaire as its main conduit for the smuggling of diamonds, mined by UNITA in areas under its military control. Estimated UNITA income last year from diamonds was around \$660 million.

#### UNITA defence of Mobutu

UNITA had given its full backing to the Mobutu regime, sending many of its best fighters to support Mobutu as the Zairian army retreated in the face of battle. This is despite assurances given by UNITA to the international community, which have de facto been accepted, that they have disarmed and quartered all their troops.

During the battle for the town of Kenge at the beginning of May, a leader of Zaire's Christian Democrat and Social Party, said that he believed that those fighting in support of the Mobutu regime were UNITA personnel. He said "our soldiers have always refused to fight. I believe Angolan former rebels from UNITA must be backing the Zairian troops". The medical aid organisation, Medicins sans Frontieres, also claimed that UNITA troops were present in the Kenge battle.

This was confirmed by Edi Angulu, the Geneva-based representative of the AFDL, who also claimed that other troops supporting the Mobutu regime were members of the Rwandan Hutu army who fled Rwanda following the civil war. Sources in the camp of AFDL claim that up to 5,000 UNITA soldiers were involved in the last ditch operation.

The presence of UNITA troops in Congo was also recognised by the US administration. Addressing the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee hearing on Angola on 24 April, George Moose, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, said "UNITA admits that it maintains a presence in Zaire to guarantee its supply route". He continued that despite

international mandatory sanctions on arms or oil sales to UNITA, they have continued to buy weapons from neighbouring countries "particularly Zaire". Angolan support for Kabila

The US official also stated that "reports indicate that the Katangese have played an important military role in support of the rebel alliance (the Zairian rebels who have now taken administrative control of Congo)". This refers to the Katangese Gendarmerie forces that moved to Angola following a failed uprising in Shaba province in the 1960s.

Whilst some commentators have accused the Angolan government of arming and transporting the Katangese, others - such as the Voice of Zaire radio station - have accused the Angolan government's army of direct intervention. Both UNITA and the Angolan government have denied the allegations.

#### UNITA THREATENS TO WITHDRAW FROM PEACE PROCESS

UNITA has again threatened to withdraw from the peace process, following major movements of Angolan troops along the border with Congo. The threat to withdraw comes after several areas previously under the control of UNITA were taken back by the Angolan army (FAA).

This threat highlights the dangerous contradictions between the participation of UNITA in the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation and the unified Angolan army, and UNITA's continued military occupation of much of the country. Under the Lusaka Protocol, the agreement underpinning the peace process, UNITA was obliged to lay down its arms and allow the government of Angola (of which it is now a part) to resume administrative control throughout the country. Despite the serious dangers posed by the delays in this fragile transition, the United Nations peacekeeping mission is continuing its withdrawal from the country.

#### UNITA accuses government of Lunda attacks

On 23 May, Reuters quoted a UNITA general as saying that "the FAA has entered into our areas in Lunda Norte and has taken the towns of Muinda, Canzar, Cambulo and Buia". The areas in question are along the border with Congo.

Senior UNITA National Assembly member, Isaias Samakuva, said that "We still want to go forward, but obviously if this offensive continues we will call a halt to it. If the army keeps this up, if they insist on taking these areas militarily, then there will be no more peace process for UNITA".

The areas where the Angolan army is said to be taking up positions are of strategic importance to both sides, as the Lundas are the main diamond regions, with some of the richest areas under UNITA's control. This continuing army action has not yet brought confrontation with the crack troops that UNITA has protecting its major diamond mining interests.

However, UN spokesperson Yacou Batebe stated on 29 May that a UN inspection team visited the region and found no evidence to support UNITA's allegations. Quoted by the South African Press Association, Batebe stated that "we checked [the allegations] and they were not true".

Two major issues are at stake at present: the sealing of the border with Congo, and the extension of state administration.

#### Sealing of border

The movement along the border with Congo is the latest in a series of actions by the Angolan government to seal off the border. On 24 April the Interior Minister, Andre Pitra "Petroff", warned of the need for border controls to stop the large number of Rwandan Hutu refugees from crossing into the country. 24 men were arrested in the town of Dundo and accused of using arms to force their way into the country.

Amnesty International states that at least 500 refugees are reported to have crossed into areas under the control of UNITA. Amnesty says that the Angolan government is breaking its international obligations by keeping out Rwandese Hutu refugees.

On 13 May the Angolan government stated its "concern over the movement of refugees and armed men along the common border with Zaire, in view of the conflict which has hit that country."

It continued that "the repeated attempts by armed men to infiltrate Angola endangers the country's

territorial integrity and its population. Thus, the government of the Republic of Angola has decided to reinforce its security and protection forces along the common border with Zaire, notably in the northeast region, to avoid this massive influx of people, which could endanger the country's stability and internal order".

The UN High Commission for Refugees, UNHCR, suggested on 13 May that a humanitarian corridor be set up in Angola to help Rwandan refugees to return to Rwanda.

A spokesperson for UNHCR said that 500 refugees had been given supplies in Angola before being returned to Zaire. The UNHCR suggested that a further 12,000 refugees were close to the border. The UNHCR wishes to use stocks presently held in Angola for these refugees, with the stocks being replaced subsequently. Other sources put the total number of refugees attempting to get into Angola at 17,500.

Under the scheme, the refugees would be taken to the town of Dundo, from where they would be airlifted to Rwanda.

The spokesperson, Pamela O'Toole, said that former Rwandan Hutu soldiers, who were responsible for the death of at least half a million Rwandan Tutsis and moderate Hutus, were among the refugees.

UNHCR spokesperson Paul Stromberg said that "it is not clear how many people are still running, but all we know is that the ex-FAR [ex-Rwandan army] and Interahamwe [Hutu militia] have been pushing people, mainly women and children".

This was supported by another UNHCR official, who said that "a significant number of those who might have been involved in the genocide of 1994 have found their way to the Angolan border".

Already 700,000 Rwandan Hutus have returned to Rwanda from Congo over their adjoining border.

The sealing of the border has also blocked the escape route of the 10,000 UNITA soldiers estimated by the Angolan government to be in Congo.

Extension of state administration

UNITA has been accused of continuing to place obstacles in the way of the long awaited extension of state control throughout the country, putting serious strains on the peace process.

On 30 April the government, which now includes UNITA representatives, regained control of MBanza Congo, the capital of Zaire Province. The Governor, Ludi Kissassunda, was formally installed at a ceremony on 2 May. These events were the first stage of the extension of government control to the whole country as set out and agreed under the Lusaka Protocol.

However on 19 May the coordinators of the body overseeing the extension of state administration, the GOIC - which includes delegates from the government, the UN, the troika of observer nations (Russian Federation, United States of America and Portugal), and UNITA - issued a communique stating that since MBanza Congo "none of the longed for progress has been made".

The communique clearly blames UNITA for the delay, stating that "the government finds itself prevented, once more, from peacefully carrying out the programmes for the towns and villages in the provinces of Huambo, Benguela, Kwanza-Sul, Bengo, Uige and Zaire". It goes on to express its "severe disquiet and indignation about these new delaying manoeuvres by UNITA, which by their nature are capable of causing localised conflicts as a result of the reinstallation of state administration, which will go ahead with or without UNITA". It also warns that UNITA will "be held responsible for all the consequences which can follow its lack of cooperation".

This bellicose statement, together with the troop movements in the diamond regions suggests a renewed confidence in the Angolan government following events in Congo.

However, Angola specialist Augusta Conchiglia stated in a paper presented to the Solidarity Conference with the people of Angola, held in Brussels on 25 May, that "it is barely possible that the government would act without UNITA's consent".

He highlighted the danger still posed by UNITA when he blamed the rebel movement for an attack on a battalion

of UN peace-keepers who on 20 May were heading for the UNITA-held Vila Nova. During the attack a Brazilian soldier was killed and another injured.

The journalist continued that "despite this grave incident, it is hardly possible that UNAVEM would slow down its operations for withdrawing its contingents from the country. Its premature departure contradicts one of the aims of the UNAVEM mission - the supposed verification of the reinstatement of the state administration and the establishment of conditions permitting freedom of travel for people and goods".

Conchiglia quotes the vice-minister for territorial administration, the former UNITA member Nzau Puna, as saying that UNITA is relying on the early departure of UNAVEM to prolong with impunity its occupation of large tracts of the country.

#### COOPERATION WITHIN GURN GROWS

Sources in Angola are suggesting that in contrast to the political situation in the countryside, the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation (GURN) is working relatively smoothly.

Invested on 11 April, the GURN is made up of 29 ministers and 56 vice-ministers. These are drawn from all political parties represented in the Angolan parliament - the National Assembly.

Journalist Augusta Conchiglia reports that the UNITA ministers and members of the National Assembly "take their task very seriously, even with zeal, forcing themselves to demonstrate their competence and devotion to public opinion and international observers".

Africa Confidential, on 23 May, commented that "as most of UNITA's political class enjoy the good life in Luanda, many MPLA officials see a split developing between UNITA moderates and hard-liners, most of whom have remained with Savimbi in Bailundo".

#### UN SECRETARY GENERAL APPEALS FOR DEMOBILISATION FUNDS

The Secretary General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, has made an emergency appeal on behalf of the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), stating that the demobilisation programme for the current year was costed at \$48 million. Launching the appeal on 16

May, the UN leader stated that the IOM had less than a million dollars towards this total.

The need over the next three months was put at \$15 million. The IOM warned on 25 May that unless the situation improved, the programme would have to be halted. A spokesperson for the IOM described the situation as dire. Jean Victor Nkolo for the IOM stated that "the problem is that the peace process itself is at stake here".

Following Kofi Annan's intervention, the IOM has received pledges of \$300,000 from Australia, \$455,000 from Denmark, \$400,000 from Italy, \$650,000 from Sweden, and possibly \$500,000 from Portugal. Britain and the United States were considering the appeal.

The demobilisation of UNITA troops currently in the assembly areas is continuing slowly, with the IOM stating that as of 26 May 10,568 soldiers (including those under-age and disabled) had been demobilised.

#### INTEGRATION OF UNITA TROOPS INTO FAA

The latest figures available from the UN show that the number of UNITA troops integrated into the Angolan army had increased to 10,955 by 6 May, out of a total of 19,130 selected.

However, the total number of UNITA troops and police that had deserted rose to 20,051 - leaving 23,755 troops and 3,392 policemen in the camps.

#### UN SECURITY COUNCIL AWAITS SECRETARY GENERAL'S REPORT

The UN Security Council will meet at the end of June, when it will discuss the future of the UN mission in Angola. In particular, it is awaiting a report from the Secretary General, due before 6 June, containing his recommendations regarding the structure, specific goals, and cost implications of a follow-on mission.

Many of the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol are now in place. There is a Government of Unity and National Reconciliation, and some senior UNITA generals have been appointed to leading positions in the Angolan army. Yet the tasks of the UN Verification Mission in Angola (UNAVEM III) is far from complete.

UNAVEM III still needs a presence to verify that the sections of the Lusaka Protocol relating to the

extension of state administration, and the transformation of UNITA into a non-military force are carried out.

#### BRUSSELS SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE

The Comite Afrique Australe; Presence et Action Culturelles Molenbeek; and Solidarite Socialiste held a solidarity conference entitled - Angola: towards reconciliation? on 24 May in Brussels.

Speakers included Paulo Jorge, member of the political bureau of the MPLA; Fernando Pacheco, Director of the Angolan NGO - ADRA; Professor Silas Cerqueira; Professor William Bossier; and journalist Chris Gordon.

In her speech to the conference, Chris Gordon warned of the dangers posed by UNITA's occupation of diamond mines in the Lundas, and of the probability of military clashes if formal agreements on UNITA concessions are not reached soon.

#### NEW BRITISH GOVERNMENT BANS MINES

The recently elected Labour government announced on 20 May a complete ban on the manufacture, transfer, import and export of anti-personnel landmines, with a pledge to destroy British stockpiles by 2005, or sooner if an international ban is agreed. They also placed a ban on their use by British forces, except with prior approval by Parliament.

Included in the ban are "smart mines" which destroy themselves after a given period. Also banned are the anti-tank mine L27, which can be triggered by a human; and the HB876, which is part of the high tech JP-233 bomb used by the Royal Air Force to destroy airfields.

The previous government had sought to pursue a policy of promoting "smart mines" as an alternative to "dumb" mines.

#### OAU works towards banning mines

A three day conference on landmines, sponsored by the Organisation of African Unity, opened in Johannesburg on 19 May.

OAU General Secretary, Salim Ahmed Salim stated that "it is imperative that Africans should devote efforts to the total global banning of mines". At present only

South Africa, Mozambique and Congo have announced national prohibitions on landmine use.

According to a recent report by the International Committee of the Red Cross, surgical care and the fitting of an orthopaedic appliance cost at least \$3,000. The ICRC estimates that one out of every 334 people in Angola is an amputee as compared to one in every 22,000 in the United States. The United Nations humanitarian agency, UCAH, estimates that there are between 50,000 and 100,000 amputees in Angola. An estimated 15 million landmines are still in the Angolan earth.

#### IMF VISITS ANGOLA

The Angolan news agency, ANGOP, reported on 23 May that the International Monetary Fund was due to send a delegation to Angola at the end of May to review the country's economic reforms.

#### LEADING US MILITARY FIGURE RE-VISITS ANGOLA

The second-in-command of the North American troops in Europe, General James Jamerson, arrived in Luanda on 20 May for another 24 hour visit to discuss military cooperation between the two countries. He was to meet Minister of Defence, Pedro Sebastiao and Chief of Staff of FAA, General Joao de Matos. The US general also visited Zimbabwe, Zambia and South Africa.

#### OIL FOUND

The Angolan state energy company, Sonangol, announced on 14 May that it, along with several American and European oil companies, has discovered a new petroleum field off the coast of Angola. The initial results indicate a production capacity of around 7,500 barrels of crude oil a day.

Also, on 6 May Chevron reported that it had begun production from the North N'Dola off-shore oil field.

#### COCA COLA FOR ANGOLA

Coca-Cola and Indol International (a subsidiary of South African Breweries) announced on 5 May that it is to build a \$20 million plant at Bom Jesus, 60km from Luanda.

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Angola Peace Monitor

Volume III, Issue 8, 25 April 1997

UNITA takes up positions in parliament and Government

Following months of intense pressure by the international community, Jonas Savimbi's former rebel movement, UNITA, has sent its elected Deputies to Angola's parliament, the National Assembly, and taken up positions in the new Government of National Unity and Reconciliation (GURN).

On 9 April, 67 out of UNITA's 70 elected Deputies were sworn-in at the National Assembly. The remaining three Deputies did not attend as they were either ill or unable to get to the capital, Luanda.

Completion of electoral process

The swearing-in ended the electoral process which began in 1992 when UNITA won 34% of the vote in the legislative elections. At the time, UNITA rejected the results of the election, claiming that the process was fraudulent. This assertion was denied by the international community, whose observers found the elections to be "generally free and fair".

In the Presidential elections, held simultaneously, Eduardo Jose dos Santos from the MPLA gained 49% of the vote, with Jonas Savimbi gaining 40.7%.

The rejection of the results led UNITA to return to war. Following defeats on the battleground, UNITA agreed to accept a new peace plan, the Lusaka Protocol, drawn-up with the help of the United States, Russia and Portugal.

Unity Government installed

On 11 April at the Palace of Congress in Luanda, over 30 heads of state from around the world, including President Nelson Mandela of South Africa, President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, and President Sampaio of Portugal, came to witness the installation of the Government of National Unity and Reconciliation (GURN).

Under the terms of the 1994 Lusaka Protocol, the return of UNITA's Deputies to the country's legislature

enabled UNITA nominees to join the Government of National Unity and Reconciliation.

The new government is mainly composed of the same ministers, drawn to a great extent from the majority MPLA. Seven new ministries have been created, giving room for the addition of the UNITA ministers without requiring the previously anticipated major reshuffle of the Government. The Prime Minister remains Fernando Franca van Dunem.

UNITA has four ministers and seven vice-ministers in a greatly expanded government of 28 Ministers, 55 vice-ministers and a Secretary of State for Coffee. Vitorino Hossi, Marcos Samondo, Anastacio Ruben Sikato and Jorge Alicerces Valentim are the four UNITA Ministers. Marcos Samondo replaces the earlier UNITA nominee of Kayaya Kahala as the Minister for Geology and Mines. Samondo began work on 14 April, stating "right now my ministry has too much emphasis on diamonds. Angola is a mineral-rich nation, we need to take advantage of all our natural resources".

The Minister of Justice, Paulo Tchupilica retains his post. He is a member of the Tendency of Democratic Reflection, who do not have any seats in the National Assembly. Francisco Mubengai, of the Social Renewal Party, has been made the Minister of Science and Technology.

Bengui Pedro Joao of the Social Democratic Party (PDS) has been made vice-minister for Ex-Combatants and Veterans of War. Miguel Zau Puna of the Democratic Forum of Angola has been made vice-minister for Territorial Administration.

Apart from the MPLA and UNITA, ten political parties are represented in the GURN. The cabinet now looks as follows:

Agriculture and Rural Development: Carlos Antonio Fernandes

Assistance and Social Reintegration: Albino Malungo

Commerce: Vitorino Hossi

Culture: Ana Maria de Oliveira

Defence: General Pedro Sebastiao

Education: Antonio Burity da Silva

Energy and Water: Joao Moreira Pinto Saraiva

Foreign Affairs: Venancio da Silva da Moura  
Finance: Mario Alcantara Monteiro  
Fisheries: Maria de Fatima Monteiro Jardim  
Geology and Mines: Marcos Samondo  
Health: Anastacio Ruben Sikato  
Hotels and Tourism: Jorge Alicerces Valentim  
Industry: Manuel Diamantino Borges Duque  
Information: Pedro Hendrik Vaal Neto  
Interior: Santana Andre Pitra  
Justice: Paulo Tchipilica  
Labour, Public Administration and Social  
Security: Antonio Domingos Pitra Costa Neto  
Petroleum: Albina Faria de Assis Pereira Africano  
Planning: Emmanuel Moreira Carneiro  
Posts and Telecommunications: Licinio Tavares  
Ribeiro  
Public Works and Urban Affairs: Pedro de Castro  
van Dunem Loy  
Science and Technology: Francisco Mubengai  
Territorial Administration: Faustino Muteka  
Transport: Andre Luis Brandao  
Ex-Combatants and Veterans Affairs: Pedro Jose  
Van-Dunem  
Women's Affairs: Joana Lina Ramos Baptista  
Cristiano  
Youth and Sports: Jose da Rocha Sardinha de  
Castro  
Secretary of State for Coffee: Gilberto Buta  
Lutucuta

Jonas Savimbi absent despite special status

On 8 April the National Assembly conferred upon Jonas Savimbi the special status of president of the largest opposition party. The legislation, which can only be changed or amended with Savimbi's personal consent, details his privileges and immunities, including a salary, house, security contingent, and access to the President for consultations.

The Lusaka Protocol stated that Savimbi should have a special status, but did not lay out the form that this would take. Over the last year the UNITA leader has demanded various formulas. This has been seen by many as a method of delaying the peace process. In the final event, agreeing this proved uncontroversial.

The most noticeable absentee from the installation ceremony was Jonas Savimbi. He remained in his

stronghold of Bailundo, claiming that it would be unsafe for him to visit the capital. In his place he sent UNITA vice-president, Antonio Dembo, who made a speech on his behalf.

The continued absence of Savimbi has fuelled concerns among many commentators about the UNITA leader's commitment to this latest phase of the peace process.

One unnamed diplomat, quoted in the London-based Daily Telegraph on 12 April, stated that: "there is concern everywhere that he [Savimbi] is intent on retaining his full military option if this exercise in national unity should fail".

The Christian Science Monitor on 14 April stated that "diplomats and officials close to the peace process say UNITA still maintains the bulk of its military might, having turned over to the UN piles of unserviceable weapons. Aid workers who run the UN-sponsored UNITA demobilisation camps say they are filled mostly with farmers forced by UNITA into meeting UN demobilisation targets and are not real soldiers".

The article quotes a diplomat as saying "make no mistake, UNITA is a one-man show. If Savimbi does not get what he wants, if things are not going his way, then he will stop the whole process".

Many leading figures in UNITA have been withheld from the Government, Parliament and army. Concern has been raised in particular about the following:

General Antonio Dembo, UNITA's vice-president,  
General Armino Paulo Lukamba "Gato", UNITA's  
Secretary General,  
General Altino Bango Sapalalo "Bock", UNITA's  
military Chief of Staff  
General Abilio Kamalata Numa, alleged to have  
been seriously injured in fighting in Zaire  
Alcides Sakala Simoes, UNITA's "minister of  
foreign affairs"  
Snr. Dachala, UNITA's "minister of information"

Richard Cornwell, of the Africa Institute in Pretoria, South Africa, commented that: "Savimbi is going to try and distance himself, to a degree, from what happens in Luanda in the hope that Luanda will make a fist [mess] of the socio-economic policies that it comes out with.

Because they do face some appalling problems, and it is difficult to see how they will actually address these. So Savimbi will be sitting back and hoping to pick up the pieces against the time when the next Presidential elections are held".

However, Cornwell is hopeful about the peace process, saying that: "I think the Angolans can learn a great deal from the Mozambique experience. once you get parliament working properly with parliamentary committees in place, the enmity and the distrust between the two political parties tends to reduce to a rhetorical level. so one can only hope that this will be the case".

UN to wind up UNAVEM III, despite unfinished process

The installation of the GURN on 11 April has been warmly welcomed by the UN Security Council, who have signalled that UNAVEM III should be wound up, and replaced by a United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (UNOMA).

Meeting on 16 April, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1106, which extended the mandate of UNAVEM III until 30 June 1997. The Security Council called on the Secretary General to submit, no later than 6 June, a report containing his recommendations regarding the structure, specific goals, and cost implications of a follow-on observer mission.

The Secretary General reported to the Security Council on 14 April (S/1997/304) that he intends to carry on with the gradual withdrawal of UNAVEM's military units, having already cut their strength by a third. His aim is to have a complete withdrawal by 1 August.

However, the Security Council makes clear that the pace of withdrawal should take into account "progress in the remaining relevant aspects of the peace process".

The creation of the GURN and the appearance of UNITA's deputies in the National Assembly represent another large element towards the completion of the peace process agreed in Lusaka in 1994. However, several important issues remain to be addressed by both the new Government and the international community.

Extension of state administration and freedom of movement

At the heart of the problem is the extension of the state administration throughout the country, which contains a great potential for conflict between the Government and UNITA. This is because it will involve UNITA handing back authority to the Angolan government, and would represent a major commitment by UNITA to peace.

There is a continuing problem of the lack of freedom of movement. Although by mid-April the Government had lifted 179 checkpoints, and UNITA 114, the Secretary General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, warned on 14 April that 135 illegal checkpoints remain to be lifted, of which 77 belong to UNITA. The crucial steps noted above are due to take place at the same time as UNAVEM is withdrawing from the country. Past experience suggests that it is unlikely to happen peacefully without further international pressure.

UNITA's main funding comes from the illegal sale of diamonds mined in areas (especially in the Lundas) under their control since the renewed fighting after the 1992 elections. The return to government control of these areas could leave UNITA with only a fraction of this income (derived from legal mining concessions and security deals with the big mining houses). This issue is the subject of continued discussion between the state diamond company, Endiama, and UNITA.

Integration of quartered troops into FAA

The integration of UNITA troops into the Angolan Army, FAA, has been slowed down by a lack of trust on both sides, in part caused by delays in the peace process. The pace seems to have sped up following the installation of the GURN.

As of 10 April, of the 18,558 UNITA troops selected, 7,949 had been integrated into FAA. This was augmented by:

300 soldiers from Uige and Quiteve provinces on 16 April  
300 from Malanje Operation Command on 16 April  
100 from Katata and Muxinga on 16 April  
99 from Katata on 15 April  
105 from Muxinga and Chitembo on 17 April

## Demobilisation of excess troops

Very little progress has been made in demobilising the 100,000 UNITA and Government troops. However, the World Food Programme reports that the Rapid Demobilisation Plan (RDP), came into operation on 15 April.

The UN Secretary General points out in his report that the start of the RDP "has been postponed several times, creating additional hardship for UNITA soldiers and their families and imposing further financial difficulties on the United Nations".

>From 15 - 17 April the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) helped 98 ex-combatants in Vila Nova, Huambo Province. This was the start of demobilisation in Region I, which has been targeted by the RDP as the first operational area. The IOM plans to assist 800 ex-combatants per day. Each beneficiary is to receive a demobilisation and reintegration kit, consisting of household items, clothing, seeds, agricultural tools, construction tools and other small items. Funds are also given by the Government in the form of a Special Subsidy for Re-insertion (SEAR). The demobilised soldiers also receive food and transport.

By 22 April, adult UNITA soldiers had been demobilised in the following areas: 491 in Vila Nova; 116 Quibala; 5 Londuimbali.

The majority of UNITA troops that have been demobilised are child-soldiers, totalling 2,124 by 12 April. In addition, 272 disabled adult UNITA soldiers have been demobilised.

## UNITA troops at large

Casting a shadow over the integration and demobilisation of UNITA soldiers is the continued existence of military units controlled by UNITA.

The threat posed by military insecurity has been recognised by the US State Department, who on 18 April issued a travel warning against US citizens visiting the country because of "unsettled conditions, violent crime and the potential for political-military instability".

However, UNITA's military capacity is being constrained by events in Zaire. The rapid advances made by the rebels in Zaire have virtually ousted the Mobutu regime, for many years the close ally of UNITA and the main conduit for arms and oil to UNITA and diamonds from them.

Although UNITA is in possession of plenty of military equipment, the logistics of sustaining a modern military force does require clear supply lines. However, with a huge fund gained from illegal diamond mining, it is likely that UNITA can continue to receive supplies from abroad.

Deputies debate status of UNITA dissident

Two of the three UNITA Deputies who were recently expelled from the organisation resigned from the National Assembly on 9 April. Honourio van Dunem and Fatima Roque have stepped down from their posts. However, Norberto de Castro has taken his seat in parliament, causing consternation in the UNITA benches.

Norberto de Castro took his seat on 22 April, which led UNITA's Abel Chivukuvuku to demand from the sessions Chairman clarification over the legality of the Norberto de Castro's mandate.

The Chairman of the National Assembly, Roberto de Almeida, replied that de Castro's status was transitory, and that the Deputy was deciding which party to join before any decision would be made about his ability to continue in his post.

De Castro confirmed to the Angolan News Agency, ANGOP, that he was on the verge of joining another party. Although he did not name the party, he talked of a large party which was democratic and non-racist. It is widely believed that he is in discussion with the MPLA over membership.

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Angola Peace Monitor

Volume III, Issue 7, 27 March 1997

[Unity government to form but UNITA top brass stay away](#)

As the Angola Peace Monitor went to press it was looking increasingly likely that there would be some form of the much delayed Government of National Unity and Reconciliation (GURN) in place during April, in the wake of the recent visit to Angola by the United Nations Secretary General.

However, it is also clear the move does not reflect any real change in attitude by UNITA to the peace process. There is growing unease that the desperate drive by the international community to see the formal installation of the GURN will make it a hollow victory.

While the moves are likely to stave off the growing threat of sanctions against UNITA, the prospects for lasting peace in Angola remain uncertain in the light of two crucial factors on the ground.

First, that key figures in UNITA's military and political structures, including Jonas Savimbi, are to remain outside the new parliament and Government.

Second, that UNITA continues to strengthen the considerable military force it keeps under arms.

Annan gives UNITA a further two weeks  
The visit by UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, from 22 to 25 March, was a personal attempt to try and save the peace process. However, in the lead up to and during his trip he experienced at first hand a further series of prevarications by Jonas Savimbi in implementing promises and obligations under the Lusaka Protocol.

At the top of his agenda was UNITA's refusal to send its deputies to the Angolan Parliament, the National Assembly, and its representatives to the Government of National Unity and Reconciliation (GURN), and the regrouping of UNITA's soldiers.

He arrived on 22 March "with the intention of making a first-hand assessment of the situation and impressing upon the parties the need to establish the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation without any further delay".

The UN leader had hoped to be present for the inauguration of the GURN. Speaking in Cape Town prior to his visit to Angola, Annan stated that "I hope it will be possible that a national unity government will

be formed during my visit". This statement, along with a series of UN statements appeared to reflect a greater preparedness to apply pressure on UNITA.

UN twists UNITA's arm

On 21 March the UN Security Council issued a Presidential Statement (S/PRST/1997/17) which blamed the non-establishment of the GURN on UNITA. It warned that if there was not the installation of the GURN without delay, it would consider further sanctions against UNITA.

This strong warning to UNITA followed a report to the Security Council by the Secretary General, where he warned that "the patience of the international community is wearing thin" following UNITA's obstruction of the formation of the Government on Unity and National Reconciliation (GURN).

In his report on 19 March to the Security Council (S/1997/239) Kofi Annan stated that "it is a matter of very serious concern that its [GURN] formation has again been postponed, owing primarily to the failure of UNITA to send all its officials to Luanda as previously agreed". He put the issue in sharp focus - "this situation is seriously undermining the credibility of the peace process and should not be allowed to continue".

On 27 February the Security Council extended the mandate of UNAVEM III, but only until 31 March. It stated that it "expresses its readiness, in the light of the report referred to in paragraph 3 above [Secretary General's report] to consider the imposition of measures, including, inter alia, those specifically mentioned in paragraph 26 of resolution 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993". This refers to the possible imposition of further sanctions against UNITA, including trade and travel restrictions.

During the debate Sergey Lavrov, ambassador from the Russian Federation warned that if the GURN was not in place by 31 March, then the Council would have to take additional measures.

US ambassador to the UN, Bill Richardson, said that "we are willing to hold these sanctions in abeyance for only a short while longer".

These are two key statements, as along with Portugal, the US and Russian Federation make up the Troika who underwrote the Acordos do Paz and the Lusaka Protocol.

South Africa's ambassador to the UN, Joe Jele, stated that "the time has come for this august body to act decisively and consider the implementation of appropriate measures against UNITA if it does not comply with its commitments".

UN leader visits Savimbi

On 24 March the Secretary General visited Bailundo and met with UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi for 45 minutes. After the meeting he described as "decisive and concrete steps" the guarantees given by Savimbi that this week he would send to Luanda the remaining deputies and GURN members from his movement.

Jonas Savimbi promised Kofi Annan that the deputies would arrive in Luanda on 25 March, to be sworn in immediately afterwards. The remaining UNITA nominees for the GURN were due to arrive in Luanda on 26 March.

Savimbi stated that since the Government had now agreed to discuss the minimum programme of the GURN, there were now no obstacles to the creation of the GURN.

This followed late concessions to UNITA when the Government agreed to discuss the minimum programme. Also agreed during a marathon session of the Joint Commission(1) on 21 March was that Savimbi would have the status of leader of the opposition, and a draft law is to be submitted to the National Assembly giving him special privileges, including access to the Cabinet, a diplomatic passport, a "salary befitting his status", a state residence and a security detail.

Even then, Savimbi's personal promise to send UNITA personnel to Luanda was only partially kept when only 9 further deputies were sent, along with 4 nominees for the GURN. In total, UNITA had sent 58 out of 70 deputies, and 11 out of 17 nominees for government posts.

Kofi Annan left Angola on the night of 25 March, having spoken at the National Assembly. He has now recommended to the UN Security Council that the mandate for the UN mission in Angola (UNAVEM III) should be extended by

two weeks, until the 15 April, in the expectation that the GURN will be in place by then.

Security Council to decide on action  
The UN Security Council will meet prior to 31 March, at which they are likely to give UNITA a fortnight to get its personnel to Luanda for the inauguration of the GURN, as recommended by Kofi Annan.

Threatened Zaire regime rearming UNITA  
A report on 20 March in the Washington Post advanced further evidence that UNITA is regrouping and rearming itself.

The paper detailed the supply lines which are based on as many as a dozen arms traders operating out of Kinshasa's N'Djili International airport using about 15 aircraft.

According to the report, airlines said to be involved in smuggling weapons to UNITA include Service Air, Air Transport Office, Guila Air, Africair, Scibe Air, African Air and Air Excellence.

Closely associated with the arms trading are said to be members of Mobutu's family and his aides. The Washington Post states that the shipment of arms to UNITA has been at the expense of Mobutu's own troops, who are said to be running short of supplies.

The article gives an idea of the amounts of weapons UNITA is receiving. It states that a Western intelligence report estimates that 450 tons of Bulgarian arms were sent to UNITA in October and November 1996. This was mainly composed of AK-47 assault rifles, 60mm and 120mm mortars and rocket-propelled grenades and launchers.

This article is further evidence that the international community is tolerating the pretence that UNITA is standing down its army.

By 28 November a total of 29,698 personal weapons and 4,521 crew-served weapons had been handed over by UNITA to UNAVEM III. However, the UN admits that between 30 and 40 per cent of weapons handed over were old and unusable.

Increase in UNITA soldiers at large

The number of UNITA soldiers operating in Angola is on the increase as more soldiers desert the quartering areas set up by the UN, with reports that UNAVEM forces have recently been barred from UNITA-held areas.

Despite declaring to the UN that it had fully demobilised, UNITA did not put its elite forces into the quartering areas, and their numbers are now being swollen by some of the deserters. The UN admitted on 5 March that there were 26,407 deserters. Some of these were never soldiers, but were peasants press-ganged by UNITA and taken to the quartering areas to make up the numbers. However, others were soldiers who have now returned to their units.

There have been reports of UNITA stepping up actions in areas under its control. The Portuguese newspaper, *Diario de Noticias*, reported on 7 March that UNITA occupy two thirds of Bie Province, and have recently destroyed the bridge over the River Cutato on the road between Andulo and Cucinga.

A source said that the bridge was destroyed to bar access to UN forces to the zones of Calunginga, Andulo, and the surrounding districts where UNITA has positioned its long-range artillery and troops. It is also said that UNITA are regrouping north of Cunhinga, while new bases are being set up in other areas.

The Minister of Defence recently flew to the area to head-off a serious military clash between Government and UNITA forces. There are now a number of flash-points in the country which threaten the present cease-fire.

#### UNITA active in Zaire

There has been growing awareness that UNITA is heavily involved in supporting its old ally, President Mobutu, in Zaire.

According to a report in the British-based *Guardian* newspaper on 19 March, UNITA soldiers crossed into southern Zaire, from where they were transported to an air base at Kamina. They were then flown to the north-east of the country where they were deployed against the rebels around the towns of Bunia, Beni and Isoro. The *Guardian* report states that they have been fighting a losing battle, with many injuries.

A range of other journals have reported that UNITA is sustaining heavy casualties in the fighting.

Reports of other Angolan involvement

There have also been reports and allegations that other Angolans, including Government troops, are present in Zaire fighting on the side of the rebels.

About 1,500 Angolans are said to be involved, mainly comprised of Katangese Gendarmerie forces. They were in exile in Angola following their expulsion from Shaba province in Zaire in the 1960s. Other sources have been surprised by these allegations, as it had been believed that the Gendarmerie had been expelled from Angola around about 1978.

UNITA's Radio Vorgan has claimed that the rebels in Zaire have been bolstered by troops from the Angolan Armed Forces' First Uige Regiment.

US warns against involvement in Zaire

During the debate in the UN Security Council on 27 February, the US Ambassador to the UN, Bill Richardson, said that "we would also warn the parties against any involvement in the conflict in Zaire".

Radio Vorgan criticised

The United Nations has strongly criticised Radio Vorgan for broadcasting incorrect information which undermines the peace process.

The UN statement said that "Vorgan Radio continues to broadcast incorrect information, ignoring repeated requests to halt this practice".

Stalemate delays return of refugees

The representative in Zambia of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees has stated that the lack of movement towards a lasting peace in Angola is standing in the way of the 100,000 refugees returning home.

Speaking on 3 March, Claire Hamlich said that only one of three preconditions had been met, namely the quartering of soldiers. Two other preconditions, the formation of the Government of National Unity and Reconciliation and freedom of movement, had not been met.

The Commissioner's representative stated that there were still 147 roadside checkpoints being operated in UNITA controlled areas. She also blamed UNITA for the delay in the creation of the GURN.

Hamlisch also drew attention to the problem of landmines, which although is being addressed, does not yet offer suitable guarantees for the safety of the refugees. She said that in the light of the above, the refugees were being asked to grow their crops in situ rather than waiting until their repatriation.

Telecom rehabilitation planned

Angola Telecom announced on 2 March that it is preparing to re-establish telephone communications in all state capitals damaged by the war.

The company is planning to spend \$80 million improving services, including the installation of a digital exchange in Luanda. Similar improvements are to be carried out in Benguela.

Angola Telecom hopes to invest heavily in a cellular network to compliment the wired system.

According to the company's Director General, Gualberto de Matos, a major problem they are facing is getting subscribers to pay for the service. He states that Government agencies owe about \$18 million.

Diamond target

The state diamond company, Endiama, has fixed a production target of nearly two million carats by the year 2,000.

The company Diamondworks has announced that it hopes to begin producing diamonds from June 1997 from its project in Luo in Lunda Norte.

Africa Focus magazine reported on 4 March that Endiama has invited UNITA to join the joint venture SDM to mine the Luzamba region of the Cuango Valley.

According to a report from Reuters, SDM plans to make a huge investment in the region, up to \$120 million. The mining will include the diverting of the River Cuango to mine the river bed.

The main stumbling block with the joint venture is that whilst SDM is offering to sell UNITA roughly a 10 per cent stake, the rebel movement wants to be given the shares.

(1) the Joint Commission is comprised of the UN, the Government, UNITA, and the three observer states (Russia, United States and Portugal)

Angola Peace Monitor

Volume III, Issue 6, 25 February 1997

#### UN SECURITY COUNCIL PUSHES AHEAD WITH PLANS

The UN Security Council went into private session on 25 February, during which it will agree to a plan to progressively cut its presence in Angola.

The UN's new Secretary General, Kofi Annan, had hoped that improvements in the situation in Angola could lead to the mandate of the UN's mission in Angola, UNAVEM III, to be extended for a two month period. However, problems blamed on UNITA (see below) will almost certainly lead to the Security Council asking to review the situation at the end of March.

#### BAD FAITH GIVES UN PLANNING DIFFICULTIES

UNITA has broken its promise made to the Joint Commission(1) on 23 January that it would ensure that all its 70 deputies to the Angolan Parliament, the National Assembly, and its members of the future Government of National Unity and Reconciliation (GURN) would arrive in the Angolan capital, Luanda, by 12 February. This would have enabled the Angolan Government to set a date for the inauguration of the GURN.

The UN Security Council on 30 January issued a Presidential Statement (S/PRST/1997/3) in which "the Security Council calls upon the parties to implement this agreement strictly and to form the GURN without any linkages and without further delay. Failure to implement this agreement could jeopardize the peace process and lead the Security Council to consider appropriate measures, as indicated in relevant Security Council resolutions, against those responsible for the delays". This is a reference to previous threats by the

Security Council to impose various sanctions upon UNITA (see APM passim).

#### DIGNITARIES MEET "VANGUARD" AT AIRPORT

In the event, only 12 UNITA deputies and three nominees for cabinet posts arrived in Luanda by air from Bailundo on 12 February. The deputies were:

- \* Junior Joao
- \* Smart Gaston Chata
- \* Mateus Sousa
- \* Arlete Chimbinda
- \* Adelino Antonio
- \* Almerindo Jaka Jamba
- \* Vitorino Nhane
- \* Celestino Kapapelo
- \* Antonio Pitra Sobrinho
- \* Aniceto Amukaya
- \* Alberto Vasco Miguel
- \* Sebastiao Veloso

The three nominees for cabinet posts who arrived are:

- \* Vitorino Domingos Hossi (Minister of Commerce)
- \* Anastacio Ruben Sicato (Minister of Health)
- \* Jorge Alicerces Valentim (Minister of Hotels and Tourism)

#### UN TUSSELES WITH PROBLEM OF HOW TO BRING UNITA INTO LINE

Following the failure of UNITA to bring their deputies to Luanda, it is expected that the United Nations will only renew the United Nations Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) mandate until 31 March, with veiled warnings of further sanctions against UNITA after this, if they do not change their ways.

In his report to the Security Council on 7 February (S/1997/115), Secretary General Kofi Annan stated that "the pace of implementation of the remaining military and political tasks, owing mainly to the lack of cooperation of UNITA, has, once again, been painfully slow and disappointing".

The failure of UNITA to carry out the tasks under the Lusaka Protocol has led to the Secretary General of the United Nations to warn that "if the international community is to maintain its involvement in Angola, it

is imperative for the parties, in particular UNITA, to take urgent and decisive steps".

However, few observers predict that there exists in the international community the political will to punish UNITA. At present there is no effective implementation of the mandatory sanctions already in place, which involves prohibiting the selling of weapons and petroleum products to the rebel organisation.

The Chairman of the Security Council Committee established to monitor the observance of the mandatory sanctions in place against UNITA, on 13 January reported to the Security Council on the Committee's work in 1996. The Committee held two meetings in 1996, and report that they "considered a case of an alleged violation of the embargo against UNITA".

However, there is prima facie evidence that Zaire has been used as a conduit by UNITA for importing arms and fuel. It has also been used as a conduit for smuggling out of Angola illegally mined diamonds.

Some forces in the international community would not wish to see UNITA weakened militarily, believing that this would in turn weaken the need for the Angolan Government to involve it in a GURN. Other forces prefer to see negotiations with UNITA as the way forward.

#### SECRETARY GENERAL SETS OUT YEAR AHEAD

The UN is planning a phased withdrawal of UNAVEM III by the end of August 1997, transforming itself into an observer mission.

The Secretary General estimates in his report to the Security Council that, "in order to complete the implementation of the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol and to consolidate the gains made so far in the peace process, a continued, although reduced, presence of the UN in Angola will be required until the end of 1997".

The planned downsizing of the operation is related to the pace of progress, and cost considerations. If progress was faster than expected, the withdrawal of the military component would be speeded up. However, observers of the peace process doubt that progress will be more rapid than planned.

Secretary General Kofi Annan is under pressure to reduce costs throughout the UN. In his report on Angola he stated that "I am fully aware of the pressing need for economy and cost-effectiveness. Accordingly, every effort would be made to achieve a substantial reduction in the number of professional, field service and local staff of the mission by August 1997".

The main activities of the mission, in addition to residual military tasks, would focus on political, police and human rights aspects, humanitarian activities and public information programmes.

Plans for downsizing start with the repatriation of a maximum of 400 UNAVEM III troops by the end of February. Thereafter, it is planned to remove one battalion per month. Military headquarters personnel are to be repatriated in stages, aiming to have a 45% reduction by June. It is planned to have the rapid reaction groups, together with the most essential medical, air, signals and other support elements in Angola until August 1997.

The number of military observers is due to be reduced from 350 to 90 by the end of August.

#### UNITA RAISES FURTHER LINKAGES

In January 1997 the main obstacle raised to further progress on the political front was the decision of UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi to demand that he be granted the status of principal adviser to the President of Angola, with a major coordinating role over rural development and national reconciliation, along with supervisory power over several ministries (see APM no.5, vol. 3).

The UN made clear that although the question of Jonas Savimbi's status must be resolved, as agreed under the Lusaka Protocol in 1994, it rejected any linkage between this issue and the formation of the GURN.

However senior UNITA official Abel Chivukuvuku said in an interview published on 16 February in Jornal de Angola that Savimbi now only requires that he be recognised as head of the country's main opposition party.

There is speculation in Luanda that the Government and UNITA have reached agreement over the UNITA leader's status, which will be "leader of the opposition" although there is varying degrees of support for the concept among other parliamentary parties.

Now the focus has switched to the latest UNITA demand, which is that the MPLA must agree to a Common Programme of Governance (CPOG) for the GURN. Isaias Samavuka, head of the UNITA delegation in the Joint Commission, said on 14 February that "if the ruling party, the MPLA, unilaterally defines a Programme of Governance, then what we have is a continuation of a one-party regime no matter what it is called".

Subsequently, UNITA presented a programme to a press conference in Luanda on 19 February. Joao Lourenco, speaking on behalf of the MPLA on 21 February said that this was "an attempt to divert and mislead public opinion".

In the view of the MPLA, which is the major party in the Angolan Government, this is another attempt by UNITA to reopen negotiations. The Angolan Government has consistently rebuffed such moves, including attempts by UNITA to reopen negotiations through the South African Government.

This issue is now being put forward as the major obstacle to progress in the peace process.

#### INCORPORATION INTO NATIONAL ARMY CONTINUES

The incorporation of UNITA's military forces into the national army, FAA, is continuing, although at a slower pace than timetabled.

According to figures from the UN, by 18 February 6,083 UNITA soldiers had been formally integrated. These were made up of 78 officers, 451 sergeants, and 5,554 privates.

The figures show that in total, 18,700 soldiers had been selected. Under previous agreements, UNITA was to provide a total of 26,300 troops.

The UN Secretary General, reported to the Security Council that the "exercise is proceeding slowly because of interference by UNITA commanders in the selection

and incorporation procedures, poor planning and the logistical difficulties experienced by FAA".

The Secretary General also pointed out that 22,686 had deserted or were "temporarily absent" from the 15 camps housing UNITA's military personnel. He called for UNITA to reverse this trend, and also urged UNITA to dismantle its four remaining command centres.

There have been continuing rumours that UNITA have 2,000 fighters in Zaire backing President Mobuto. However, these rumours are vehemently denied by UNITA. In particular, they have taken the step of denying that their senior general, Kamalata Numa, was killed in Eastern Zaire. UNITA has also denied that General Numa is being treated in a South African hospital for injuries sustained during fighting in Zaire.

#### DEMOBILISATION CONTINUES SLOWLY

Demobilisation has continued at a very slow pace, with 2,029 soldiers under 18 being returned to civilian life.

A new plan by the Technical Working Group on Demobilisation is being put forward, which would aim to close down all the camps housing UNITA soldiers before the withdrawal of UNAVEM military units.

Previously, it had been agreed that the security, administrative and logistical responsibility would be handed over to the Angolan Government. The new plan envisages full demobilisation by July 1997.

#### FREE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE

According to the UN on 18 February, there were 125 checkpoints, 55 belonging to the Government and 70 to UNITA. The province most affected by checkpoints is Lunda Sul.

However, Kofi Annan reported to the Security Council that "the free movement of people and goods throughout the country has shown improvement, although some restrictions remain in several provinces".

The Secretary General also pointed out that persistent acts of banditry in Huila and Benguela provinces has impeded the delivery of humanitarian assistance, and

that the murder in Kwanza Norte of a senior official of the World Food Programme dealt a serious blow to the confidence of humanitarian workers.

#### UNITA FORMALLY EXPEL THREE DEPUTIES

Three deputies elected under the UNITA ticket in the 1992 Angolan elections have been expelled from the party.

The senior UNITA economist, Fatima Roque was formally expelled from the party during a meeting of their Political Commission in Bailundo from 8 - 10 February, for "systematically violating the party's internal discipline code".

Fatima Roque stated on Televisao Popular de Angola on 12 February that she had not yet decided whether to take up her seat in the National Assembly (under the constitution it is necessary for a deputy to renounce their post before it becomes vacant). However, she has indicated that she would not be prepared to become an obstacle to peace.

Two sitting deputies, Honourio van Dunem and Norberto de Castro, who took up their seats after the elections, were expelled from UNITA in February 1995. De Castro, in an interview in Diario de Noticias on 14 February compared Jonas Savimbi with Idi Amin and Jean Idel Bokassa. He described UNITA as "an orchestra with one voice".

The UNITA communique stated that "the UNITA Political Commission hereby strenuously warns the authorities connected with the process of bringing UNITA deputies into the National Assembly that UNITA regards the cases of Dr Fatima Roque, Honourio van Dunem and Norberto de Castro as internal matters that cannot be reviewed or the entire peace process might be jeopardized by a fistful of renegades serving alien interests".

#### FIGHTING BREAKS OUT IN THE SOUTH

According to reports from Reuters on 16 and 17 February, around 1,700 people in southwestern Angola have fled their villages because of unrest.

The new refugees are mainly from the village of Yambala, and are moving to the city of Cubal. Reuters

report that the aggressors are either UNITA troops or ex-UNITA bandits.

#### EXTENSION OF STATE ADMINISTRATION TO BEGIN AT END OF MONTH

The Angolan daily paper *Jornal de Angola*, reported on 19 February plans to begin the extension of central administration to all of Angola's provinces, starting in the town of Mbanza Congo, Zaire Province, on 28 February.

#### UNITA POLICE TO BE INCORPORATED INTO NATIONAL POLICE FORCE

Some 4,891 UNITA police personnel have been registered and quartered prior to a portion of them being incorporated into the Angolan National Police. However only 2,100 weapons have been handed over to the authorities, representing less than one weapon for every two policemen registered.

So far 743 of those registered have deserted, which represents over 15% of the total. Only 625 were selected by 1 February for incorporation, and UNITA has not yet provided a list of senior officers to join the national force.

President dos Santos has promised the UN that he will issue instructions that the educational requirements for UNITA officers be lowered.

#### MASSIVE SHORTFALL IN UNAVEM III FUNDING

Secretary General Kofi Annan has warned that as of 28 January over \$150 million is owed to the UN in unpaid contributions to UNAVEM III.

In all, the total debt to the UN for all peacekeeping operations stands at \$1,953.2 million.

#### BRITISH GOVERNMENT GIVES COMMITMENT ON UNAVEM III

The British Government has given a clear pledge that the reduction of UNAVEM III should not be based primarily on financial considerations.

In reply to a letter from Labour Party's Shadow Foreign Minister, Tony Lloyd MP, the Minister of State at the

Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Sir Nicholas Bonsor, stated that "in our view, the rate of withdrawal of UNAVEM III and the composition of any follow-on UN presence should be determined primarily by operational considerations".

#### AID ROUND-UP

\* Sweden has announced that it will provide \$3 million to help repair roads and provide support for demobilised soldiers in Malanje.

\* A cooperation agreement between Portugal and Angola has been signed to promote juvenile education and vocational training.

\* The Angolan Government has undertaken a project to rehabilitate 100,000 hectares of land to increase coffee production. Angola used to be one of the worlds major coffee producers. Twenty years ago production stood at 200,000 tons, but last year was 8,000 tons.

\* The World Food Programme has announced that it will provide around 96,000 tons of food assistance to Angola's war refugees, valued at \$75 million.

\* The Ministry of Education is planning to spend \$130 million a year on teacher training and on the repairing and rebuilding of the education infrastructure.

\* The UN Humanitarian Assistance Coordination Unit has put out an urgent appeal for \$18 million to meet the critical shortfall of financing due to the extension of the quartering process. These funds would last until the end of March.

#### Footnote:

1 The Joint Commission oversees the implementation of the peace process as outlined in the Lusaka Protocol. It is made up of the Angolan Government, UNITA, UNAVEM III and the Troika of Observers (Portugal, the United States and the Russian Federation). It is chaired by Alioune Blondin Beye, the UN Secretary General's Special Representative in Angola.

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Angola Peace Monitor

Volume III, Issue 5, 29 January 1997

## UNITY GOVERNMENT POSTPONED

Plans for the creation of a Government of National Unity and Reconciliation (GURN) have once again been postponed following the failure of UNITA to send their representatives to Luanda for the formation of the GURN on 25 January. This is the second postponement, as the GURN was to have been formed at the end of last year. The delay raises further difficulties for the planned withdrawal of the United Nations mission, which is to be addressed in the next UN Secretary General's report, due out by 10 February.

Under the Lusaka Protocol, signed in November 1994, which underpins the peace process, UNITA is to send their nominees to take up their place in Angola's parliament, the National Assembly, to which they were elected in 1992. Following this, the GURN is to be formed with the inclusion of UNITA nominees in the cabinet.

The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1087 on 11 December 1996 called for rapid movement on "the political steps towards national reconciliation, including the assumption by UNITA deputies and officials of their posts, followed by establishment of a Government of National Unity and Reconciliation (GURN) prior to 31 December 1997".

However, on 19 December the Joint Commission (see footnote), which oversees the peace process, agreed a new calendar, the key elements of which were:

- \* the arrival in Luanda of UNITA deputies by 16 January
- \* the assumption of office in the National Assembly of the UNITA deputies on 17 January
- \* the taking of office of the Government of National Unity and Reconciliation on 25 January

The Angolan Government subsequently sent out invitations to Heads of State for the inauguration of the GURN.

The failure of UNITA to deliver their deputies to Luanda to join the National Assembly, and their decision not to go ahead with the inauguration of the GURN is linked to three key issues - the future policies of the GURN, the control of the diamond

regions, and of course, most importantly, the status of UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi.

#### KEY QUESTION OF STATUS OF SAVIMBI

Jonas Savimbi has demanded that the question of his role be at the top of the agenda. Following his meeting in Umtata, South Africa, with President Nelson Mandela, Dr Savimbi said on 8 January that the issue of his future status had to be resolved prior to the new government being sworn in.

This position is irreconcilable with the public position of the UN Security Council and others, so the tack was changed by Isaias Samakuva, UNITA's top official on the Joint Commission, who said on 23 January that "the resolution of Jonas Savimbi's status is not a condition for forming the government. The two things are unconnected".

The international community has held a firm position that there should not be a linkage between the creation of the GURN and the "special status" of Jonas Savimbi. In the Lusaka Protocol, the Government of Angola and UNITA agreed that the UNITA leader should have a "special status" but left open the definition of what this is.

In its December resolution the UN Security Council "urges the two parties to reach agreement on the special status of the President of UNITA as the President of the largest opposition party before 31 December 1996, without linkage of that issue to the formation of the Government of National Unity and Reconciliation"

US ambassador to Angola, Donald Steinberg, endorsed this position in January, stating that "the international community believe that there should be no linkage between Dr Savimbi's special status and the government's installation on 25 January".

However, in reality the UNITA leader holds the key to progress over the political tasks. His infamous control over the organisation means that there will not be any return of UNITA deputies to the National Assembly and no GURN without his express agreement.

Publicly, UNITA is pointing to two issues to be resolved prior to the new government taking office. Firstly, it is asking for clarification over what policies the government will be carrying out.

Secondly, it wanted agreement over the pace of the extension of government administration over the entire country. The sub-text of this is that UNITA do not wish to cede control over the diamond rich areas where illegal mining is the main source of the organisations funds. Under the Lusaka Protocol, the Government is to regain full administrative control of the country. But UNITA is seeking a gradual handover.

#### SAVIMBI'S LATEST DEMANDS

UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi has demanded a formal position of "principal adviser" to the President in the Government of National Unity and Reconciliation, with constitutional powers in excess of those normally given to vice-president - the position which was recently the subject of controversy.

In a draft law presented to the Government by UNITA, their leader would be given executive powers to co-ordinate the activities in the following ministries: agriculture and rural development; social reintegration; trade; coffee; energy and water; environment; territorial administration; social affairs; ex-servicemen; and information.

The UNITA leader would have his main office in Luanda, although his activities could be carried out from anywhere in the country. He would be afforded the position of second personality in terms of protocol and all public events, and would have a diplomatic passport, and other trappings of office such as a state house.

This draft law, if agreed by the Joint Commission, would be presented to the National Assembly.

This represents another sharp twist in UNITA's position on this issue. Originally Savimbi had been pushing for the position of vice-president. However, when the Angolan Government agreed to this in June 1995 (see APM no.7, vol I), Savimbi prevaricated before eventually rejecting the Government offer on 27 August 1996 (APM no.1 vol III), claiming that he wanted to spend his

time working as leader of UNITA. He then went on to demand a constitutional position of leader of the opposition.

His current wish, to have a greater role in government has been interpreted by commentators in two ways: either a play for greater power, or as another attempt to delay the peace process.

#### SOUTH AFRICA STEPS UP ROLE

Jonas Savimbi's decision to once again demand a senior role in the GURN follows his visit to President Mandela's retreat in Umtata from 6-8 January. President Mandela's spokesperson, Parks Mankahlana, said that "Savimbi and President dos Santos are in constant contact with the president and this meeting takes place in that context".

According to Isaias Samakuva, speaking to Reuters on 17 January, "since he [Savimbi] came from South Africa he realised for UNITA to play its role in national reconciliation, he has to be in the government . perhaps as an adviser".

The South African Government has undertaken a more active role in the peace process, partly as a result of President Mandela's current role as Chair of the Southern African Development Community.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's visited Angola on 18/19 December, where he held meetings with President Dos Santos, Prime Minister Franca van Dunem, MPLA secretary-general Lopo do Nascimento, Minister Faustino Muteka, UNITA's Isaias Samakuva, and UN Special Representative Alioune Blondin Beye.

On 20 January South African Foreign Minister, Alfred Nzo, and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, visited Luanda and held talks with President dos Santos.

The increased dialogue between the Angolan parties and the South African government has been welcomed by the South African majority party, the African National Congress. In a statement issued on 10 January, it said that "the South

African Government's engagement with UNITA is an important effort to ensure that an acceptable solution

is found. In this regard, the ANC notes with appreciation that the meeting [with Savimbi] took place with the full support and blessings of the Angolan Government as well as the UN representative in Angola".

However, the heightened activity by South Africa has not been wholeheartedly welcomed by all in Angola. Some voices within the Angolan Government say that they do not want UNITA to increase delays in the peace process through revisiting issues already agreed under the Lusaka Protocol.

Following from this, the Angolan Government has rejected notions floated in the media that South Africa is acting as a mediator. This led to South African Foreign Affairs spokesperson Peter Swanepoel emphasising on 10 January that "it is a misunderstanding we don't want to interfere in the process".

#### SPECULATIVE DATES

The Portuguese newspaper Diario Economico on 24 January suggested that a new timetable has been put forward for the return of UNITA representatives to Luanda, with the GURN to be established on 20 February. UNITA has stated that its deputies are expected to begin arriving in Luanda on 12 February.

The fifth meeting between President dos Santos and Dr Savimbi is due to take place in Luanda at the beginning of February, according to Higinio Carneiro, Government spokesperson at the Joint Commission.

#### UNITA PROVIDES LIST OF DEPUTIES

UNITA has handed over to the Government a list of its members who will be installed as deputies in the National Assembly.

In the 1992 election UNITA won 70 seats. These seats were to be filled using the list method, with the parties choosing which of its members were to sit in the Angolan parliament.

Among the notable exclusions from the list are Fatima Roque, formerly a key economic strategist who has recently been distanced from the leadership, and UNITA secretary general Lucamba Gato. Two UNITA members who

took their seats in the National Assembly in 1992, Onorio Van-Dunem and Norberto de Castro, were expelled from UNITA in August 1996, and will lose their post as deputies.

#### UNITA NOMINEES FOR GOVERNMENT POSTS

UNITA has also handed over to the Government the names of its members who are to take up positions in the Government awarded to them under the Lusaka Protocol. The list is as follows:

##### Ministers

Trade: Dr Vitorino Domingos Hossi  
Geology and Mines: Eng. Kayaya Kahala  
Health: Dr Anastacio Ruben Sikato  
Hotels and Tourism: Dr Jorge Alicerces Valentim

##### Deputy Ministers

Defence: Gen. Demostenes A. Chilingutila  
Interior: Gen. Joao Baptista Chindandi  
Finance: Dr. Fernando Heitor  
Agriculture: Dario Daniel Katata  
Public Services: Eng. Armindo F. Kopingo  
Social Reinsertion: Dra. Lizeth Satumbo Pena  
Social Communication: Arlindo Chimbili

##### Ambassadors

Canada: Dr. Jaime Vila-Santa  
Mexico: Dr. Marcos Samondo  
India: Eng. Joaquim Ernesto Mulato  
Cabo Verde: Eng. Adalberto Costa Junior  
Poland: Dr. Jorge Sanguende  
UNESCO: Eng. Azevedo de O. Kangange

##### Governors

Uige: Antonio Felix Tunga  
Lunda Sul: Alberto Gima  
Kuando Kubango: Jose Bernardo Kambundi

##### Deputy Governors

Luanda: Dr. Manuel Bunjo  
Bengo: Campos Tomas  
Kwanza Sul: Antonio Tonga

Benguela: Bernardo Prata  
Huambo: Eng. Blanche Vilongo Gomes  
Bie: Geronimo Marcolino Ngongo  
Huila: Dr. Junior Joao

It is strongly suggested in Angola that the GURN will include a further five parties that are not already part of the present cabinet. These parties are not covered by the Lusaka Protocol, which is a document between the Government and UNITA, but is expected that they will still be asked to play a role. The five parties are the Democratic Liberal Party (PLD), Democratic Party for Progress of National Alliance of Angola (PDP/ANA), Democratic National Party of Angola (PNDA), Democratic Alliance (AD-coalition) and the Social Democratic Party (PSD).

The current Minister of Justice, Paulo Tchupilica, is the chairman of the Tendency of Democratic Reflection (TDR), who do not have any Deputies in the Parliament. George Chicoty, who is Deputy Minister of External Relations, is the leader of the Democratic Forum of Angola (FDA). The Deputy Minister of Fisheries is Joao Samuel Caholo of the Social Renewal Party (PRS). The Deputy Minister of Transport, Amadeu Cesario dos Santos Neves, is from the Democratic Renewal Party (PRD). Manuel David Mendes, Secretary of State for the Environment is from the Party of Youth, Worker and Peasant Alliance of Angola (PAJOCA).

#### URGENT CALL FOR FUNDS

The United Nations Humanitarian Assistance Coordination Unit in Luanda (UCAH) on 10 January issued an urgent call to the international community to continue its support for humanitarian programmes inside the selection and demobilisation centres. UCAH points out that each quartering area was envisaged to remain open for only 90 to 150 days. So far they have been kept open for more than an extra 210 days.

UCAH warns that funds are running out, and that there is already a shortfall of \$19 million. UCAH states that it "fears that donor support is fading at a critical moment" and that humanitarian assistance to the quartered UNITA soldiers and their dependants will be cut back drastically. The UCAH warns that "this could have serious political and security repercussions".

UCAH is currently putting together its Inter-Agency Consolidated Appeal for 1997. However, it remains highly concerned with the lack of donor support for the camps. It has been appealing for further funds since November 1996 and has been disappointed with response.

#### ARMY SELECTION AND INCORPORATION CONTINUES

As of 7 January 18,901 UNITA soldiers had been selected to join the Angolan army, FAA. These are comprised of 1,587 officers, 1,430 sergeants, and 15,884 privates.

Following the selection of these personnel, transport has been provided to take those selected to FAA camps. By 22 January 5,536 soldiers had been integrated into FAA.

On 24 December 8 colonels, 10 lieutenant colonels and 19 majors were incorporated into the FAA from UNITA, joining the 9 generals that had been incorporated on 20 December.

#### DEMOBILISATION DELAYS CONTINUE

Demobilisation of UNITA personnel from their quartering areas, now known as selection and demobilisation centres, has not yet started in earnest. By 10 January only 1,159 underage UNITA soldiers had been demobilised. The main contingent of soldiers were due to be part of a rapid demobilisation on 15 January. However this has not yet started and is scheduled to only begin on 1 March. Sources suggest that demobilisation of those troops disabled during the war will be stepped up in February.

#### ROYAL VISIT TO ANGOLA

Diana, Princess of Wales, paid a highly publicised visit to Angola from 13 to 16 January. During her visit, arranged by the British Red Cross, she highlighted the tragedy facing Angola because of the millions of landmines left in the country.

It is estimated that 70,000 Angolans have been maimed by landmines.

An opinion poll commissioned by the UK Working Group on Landmines after the Princess of Wales' trip to Angola

showed that 90% of the British public were now in favour of a ban on landmines.

#### FURTHER AID FOR ANGOLA

The European Commission has announced the approval of humanitarian aid for Angola totalling over \$11 million.

The priorities for 1997 will be medical aid and provision of drinking water, supplementary food programmes and the distribution of essential goods for the resettlement of refugees and displaced people.

The European Union and the Angolan Government have agreed to invest \$52 million in agricultural projects in the province of Huila, in a programme to "jump start" food production on 247,000 acres of land.

The World Bank has promised to provide Angola with \$22 million of humanitarian aid in 1997, to meet basic needs and provide social reintegration assistance.

#### Footnote:

The Joint Commission is comprised of the UN, the Government, UNITA, and the three observer states (Russia, United States and Portugal)

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UNITA takes up positions in parliament and Government

Following months of intense pressure by the international community, Jonas Savimbi's former rebel movement, UNITA, has sent its elected Deputies to Angola's parliament, the National Assembly, and taken up positions in the new Government of National Unity and Reconciliation (GURN).

On 9 April, 67 out of UNITA's 70 elected Deputies were sworn-in at the National Assembly. The remaining three Deputies did not attend as they were either ill or unable to get to the capital, Luanda.

[Completion of electoral process](#)

The swearing-in ended the electoral process which began in 1992 when UNITA won 34% of the vote in the legislative elections. At the time, UNITA rejected the results of the election, claiming that the process was fraudulent. This assertion was denied by the international community, whose observers found the elections to be "generally free and fair".

In the Presidential elections, held simultaneously, Eduardo Jose dos Santos from the MPLA gained 49% of the vote, with Jonas Savimbi gaining 40.7%.

The rejection of the results led UNITA to return to war. Following defeats on the battleground, UNITA agreed to accept a new peace plan, the Lusaka Protocol, drawn-up with the help of the United States, Russia and Portugal.

#### Unity Government installed

On 11 April at the Palace of Congress in Luanda, over 30 heads of state from around the world, including President Nelson Mandela of South Africa, President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, and President Sampaio of Portugal, came to witness the installation of the Government of National Unity and Reconciliation (GURN).

Under the terms of the 1994 Lusaka Protocol, the return of UNITA's Deputies to the country's legislature enabled UNITA nominees to join the Government of National Unity and Reconciliation.

The new government is mainly composed of the same ministers, drawn to a great extent from the majority MPLA. Seven new ministries have been created, giving room for the addition of the UNITA ministers without requiring the previously anticipated major reshuffle of the Government. The Prime Minister remains Fernando Franca van Dunem.

UNITA has four ministers and seven vice-ministers in a greatly expanded government of 28 Ministers, 55 vice-ministers and a Secretary of State for Coffee. Vitorino Hossi, Marcos Samondo, Anastacio Ruben Sikato and Jorge Alicerces Valentim are the four UNITA Ministers. Marcos Samondo replaces the earlier UNITA nominee of Kayaya Kahala as the Minister for Geology and Mines. Samondo began work on 14 April, stating "right now my ministry has too much emphasis on diamonds. Angola is a mineral-

rich nation, we need to take advantage of all our natural resources".

The Minister of Justice, Paulo Tchipilica retains his post. He is a member of the Tendency of Democratic Reflection, who do not have any seats in the National Assembly. Francisco Mubengai, of the Social Renewal Party, has been made the Minister of Science and Technology.

Bengui Pedro Joao of the Social Democratic Party (PDS) has been made vice-minister for Ex-Combatants and Veterans of War. Miguel Zau Puna of the Democratic Forum of Angola has been made vice-minister for Territorial Administration.

Apart from the MPLA and UNITA, ten political parties are represented in the GURN. The cabinet now looks as follows:

Agriculture and Rural Development: Carlos Antonio Fernandes

Assistance and Social Reintegration: Albino Malungo

Commerce: Vitorino Hossi

Culture: Ana Maria de Oliveira

Defence: General Pedro Sebastiao

Education: Antonio Burity da Silva

Energy and Water: Joao Moreira Pinto Saraiva

Foreign Affairs: Venancio da Silva da Moura

Finance: Mario Alcantara Monteiro

Fisheries: Maria de Fatima Monteiro Jardim

Geology and Mines: Marcos Samondo

Health: Anastacio Ruben Sikato

Hotels and Tourism: Jorge Alicerces Valentim

Industry: Manuel Diamantino Borges Duque

Information: Pedro Hendrik Vaal Neto

Interior: Santana Andre Pitra

Justice: Paulo Tchipilica

Labour, Public Administration and Social

Security: Antonio Domingos Pitra Costa Neto

Petroleum: Albina Faria de Assis Pereira Africano

Planning: Emmanuel Moreira Carneiro

Posts and Telecommunications: Licinio Tavares

Ribeiro

Public Works and Urban Affairs: Pedro de Castro van Dunem Loy

Science and Technology: Francisco Mubengai

Territorial Administration: Faustino Muteka

Transport: Andre Luis Brandao  
Ex-Combatants and Veterans Affairs: Pedro Jose  
Van-Dunem  
Women's Affairs: Joana Lina Ramos Baptista  
Cristiano  
Youth and Sports: Jose da Rocha Sardinha de  
Castro  
Secretary of State for Coffee: Gilberto Buta  
Lutucuta

Jonas Savimbi absent despite special status

On 8 April the National Assembly conferred upon Jonas Savimbi the special status of president of the largest opposition party. The legislation, which can only be changed or amended with Savimbi's personal consent, details his privileges and immunities, including a salary, house, security contingent, and access to the President for consultations.

The Lusaka Protocol stated that Savimbi should have a special status, but did not lay out the form that this would take. Over the last year the UNITA leader has demanded various formulas. This has been seen by many as a method of delaying the peace process. In the final event, agreeing this proved uncontroversial.

The most noticeable absentee from the installation ceremony was Jonas Savimbi. He remained in his stronghold of Bailundo, claiming that it would be unsafe for him to visit the capital. In his place he sent UNITA vice-president, Antonio Dembo, who made a speech on his behalf.

The continued absence of Savimbi has fuelled concerns among many commentators about the UNITA leader's commitment to this latest phase of the peace process.

One unnamed diplomat, quoted in the London-based Daily Telegraph on 12 April, stated that: "there is concern everywhere that he [Savimbi] is intent on retaining his full military option if this exercise in national unity should fail".

The Christian Science Monitor on 14 April stated that "diplomats and officials close to the peace process say UNITA still maintains the bulk of its military might, having turned over to the UN piles of unserviceable weapons. Aid workers who run the UN-sponsored UNITA

demobilisation camps say they are filled mostly with farmers forced by UNITA into meeting UN demobilisation targets and are not real soldiers".

The article quotes a diplomat as saying "make no mistake, UNITA is a one-man show. If Savimbi does not get what he wants, if things are not going his way, then he will stop the whole process".

Many leading figures in UNITA have been withheld from the Government, Parliament and army. Concern has been raised in particular about the following:

General Antonio Dembo, UNITA's vice-president,  
General Armino Paulo Lukamba "Gato", UNITA's  
Secretary General,  
General Altino Bango Sapalalo "Bock", UNITA's  
military Chief of Staff  
General Abilio Kamalata Numa, alleged to have  
been seriously injured in fighting in Zaire  
Alcides Sakala Simoes, UNITA's "minister of  
foreign affairs"  
Snr. Dachala, UNITA's "minister of information"

Richard Cornwell, of the Africa Institute in Pretoria, South Africa, commented that: "Savimbi is going to try and distance himself, to a degree, from what happens in Luanda in the hope that Luanda will make a fist [mess] of the socio-economic policies that it comes out with. Because they do face some appalling problems, and it is difficult to see how they will actually address these. So Savimbi will be sitting back and hoping to pick up the pieces against the time when the next Presidential elections are held".

However, Cornwell is hopeful about the peace process, saying that: "I think the Angolans can learn a great deal from the Mozambique experience. once you get parliament working properly with parliamentary committees in place, the enmity and the distrust between the two political parties tends to reduce to a rhetorical level. so one can only hope that this will be the case".

UN to wind up UNAVEM III, despite unfinished process

The installation of the GURN on 11 April has been warmly welcomed by the UN Security Council, who have signalled that UNAVEM III should be wound up, and

replaced by a United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (UNOMA).

Meeting on 16 April, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1106, which extended the mandate of UNAVEM III until 30 June 1997. The Security Council called on the Secretary General to submit, no later than 6 June, a report containing his recommendations regarding the structure, specific goals, and cost implications of a follow-on observer mission.

The Secretary General reported to the Security Council on 14 April (S/1997/304) that he intends to carry on with the gradual withdrawal of UNAVEM's military units, having already cut their strength by a third. His aim is to have a complete withdrawal by 1 August.

However, the Security Council makes clear that the pace of withdrawal should take into account "progress in the remaining relevant aspects of the peace process".

The creation of the GURN and the appearance of UNITA's deputies in the National Assembly represent another large element towards the completion of the peace process agreed in Lusaka in 1994. However, several important issues remain to be addressed by both the new Government and the international community.

Extension of state administration and freedom of movement

At the heart of the problem is the extension of the state administration throughout the country, which contains a great potential for conflict between the Government and UNITA. This is because it will involve UNITA handing back authority to the Angolan government, and would represent a major commitment by UNITA to peace.

There is a continuing problem of the lack of freedom of movement. Although by mid-April the Government had lifted 179 checkpoints, and UNITA 114, the Secretary General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, warned on 14 April that 135 illegal checkpoints remain to be lifted, of which 77 belong to UNITA. The crucial steps noted above are due to take place at the same time as UNAVEM is withdrawing from the country. Past experience suggests that it is unlikely to happen peacefully without further international pressure.

UNITA's main funding comes from the illegal sale of diamonds mined in areas (especially in the Lundas) under their control since the renewed fighting after the 1992 elections. The return to government control of these areas could leave UNITA with only a fraction of this income (derived from legal mining concessions and security deals with the big mining houses). This issue is the subject of continued discussion between the state diamond company, Endiama, and UNITA.

#### Integration of quartered troops into FAA

The integration of UNITA troops into the Angolan Army, FAA, has been slowed down by a lack of trust on both sides, in part caused by delays in the peace process. The pace seems to have sped up following the installation of the GURN.

As of 10 April, of the 18,558 UNITA troops selected, 7,949 had been integrated into FAA. This was augmented by:

300 soldiers from Uige and Quiteve provinces on 16 April  
300 from Malanje Operation Command on 16 April  
100 from Katata and Muxinga on 16 April  
99 from Katata on 15 April  
105 from Muxinga and Chitembo on 17 April

#### Demobilisation of excess troops

Very little progress has been made in demobilising the 100,000 UNITA and Government troops. However, the World Food Programme reports that the Rapid Demobilisation Plan (RDP), came into operation on 15 April.

The UN Secretary General points out in his report that the start of the RDP "has been postponed several times, creating additional hardship for UNITA soldiers and their families and imposing further financial difficulties on the United Nations".

>From 15 - 17 April the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) helped 98 ex-combatants in Vila Nova, Huambo Province. This was the start of demobilisation in Region I, which has been targeted by the RDP as the first operational area. The IOM plans to assist 800 ex-combatants per day. Each beneficiary is to receive a demobilisation and reintegration kit, consisting of household items, clothing, seeds, agricultural tools,

construction tools and other small items. Funds are also given by the Government in the form of a Special Subsidy for Re-insertion (SEAR). The demobilised soldiers also receive food and transport.

By 22 April, adult UNITA soldiers had been demobilised in the following areas: 491 in Vila Nova; 116 Quibala; 5 Londuimbali.

The majority of UNITA troops that have been demobilised are child-soldiers, totalling 2,124 by 12 April. In addition, 272 disabled adult UNITA soldiers have been demobilised.

UNITA troops at large

Casting a shadow over the integration and demobilisation of UNITA soldiers is the continued existence of military units controlled by UNITA.

The threat posed by military insecurity has been recognised by the US State Department, who on 18 April issued a travel warning against US citizens visiting the country because of "unsettled conditions, violent crime and the potential for political-military instability".

However, UNITA's military capacity is being constrained by events in Zaire. The rapid advances made by the rebels in Zaire have virtually ousted the Mobutu regime, for many years the close ally of UNITA and the main conduit for arms and oil to UNITA and diamonds from them.

Although UNITA is in possession of plenty of military equipment, the logistics of sustaining a modern military force does require clear supply lines. However, with a huge fund gained from illegal diamond mining, it is likely that UNITA can continue to receive supplies from abroad.

Deputies debate status of UNITA dissident

Two of the three UNITA Deputies who were recently expelled from the organisation resigned from the National Assembly on 9 April. Honourio van Dunem and Fatima Roque have stepped down from their posts. However, Norberto de Castro has taken his seat in parliament, causing consternation in the UNITA benches.

Norberto de Castro took his seat on 22 April, which led UNITA's Abel Chivukuvuku to demand from the sessions Chairman clarification over the legality of the Norberto de Castro's mandate.

The Chairman of the National Assembly, Roberto de Almeida, replied that de Castro's status was transitory, and that the Deputy was deciding which party to join before any decision would be made about his ability to continue in his post.

De Castro confirmed to the Angolan News Agency, ANGOP, that he was on the verge of joining another party. Although he did not name the party, he talked of a large party which was democratic and non-racist. It is widely believed that he is in discussion with the MPLA over membership.

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